

The
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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF PUBLIC
WELFARE OFFICIALS

FOREWORD

THE first annual meeting of the American Association of Public Welfare Officials was held in Minneapolis, June 15 to 20 of this year, in connection with the National Conference of Social Work. The association had been organized in Boston in June, 1930, and represents a new movement on the part of the public welfare group to provide an opportunity to consider seriously the special problems of social workers in public welfare agencies, and to secure new professional standards in their work. In view of the great expansion and increasing importance of public social work in recent years, the *Review* is happy to publish the papers and committee reports presented. One of the resolutions, suggested by addresses on unemployment by representatives of the President's Emergency Committee, authorized the president of the association to appoint a committee "to co-operate with the President's Emergency Committee for Employment and other organizations in promoting public appreciation of the need for public relief and welfare

service supported by tax funds during the unemployment emergency, and developing plans for increased public appropriations, more effective public welfare organization, and improved administrative standards."

Organization of the association was perfected by the adoption of by-laws, election of officers and a board of directors,¹ and authorization of the executive committee to endeavor to raise a budget for

¹ In view of the special significance of this movement, the *Review* also presents the names of the board of directors and committee members of the new Association for the year 1931-32.

Board of Directors:

L. A. Halbert, Director of State Institutions, State Public Welfare Commission, Providence, R.I.

Grace Abbott, Chief, Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor.

George S. Wilson, Director of Public Welfare, Board of Public Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Richard K. Conant, Commissioner, Department of Public Welfare, Boston, Massachusetts.

Frank Bane, Commissioner, State Department of Public Welfare, Richmond, Virginia.

Sanford Bates, Director, Bureau of Prisons, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Blanche LaDu, Chairman, State Board of Control, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Mrs. A. M. Tunstall, Director, State Child Welfare Department, Montgomery, Alabama.

Joseph L. Moss, Director, Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, Court House, Chicago, Illinois.

Charles H. Johnson, Commissioner, Department of Social Welfare, Albany, New York.

Margaret Reeves, State Director, Bureau of Child Welfare, State Board of Public Welfare, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

W. S. Bixby, General Secretary, Welfare Commission of Davidson County, 216 Eighth Avenue, North, Nashville, Tennessee.

Dr. A. H. Flickwir, Fort Worth, Texas.

Grube B. Cornish, Executive Secretary, Department of Public Welfare, State House, Augusta, Maine.

Helen C. Mawer, Commissioner, State Board of Public Welfare, Tallahassee, Florida.

Committee on Interstate Problems:

Frank W. Goodhue, Director, Division of Aid and Relief, Department of Public Welfare, Boston, Massachusetts, *Chairman*.

John L. Gillin, Professor of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

Spencer Dawes, New York Department of Mental Diseases, Albany, N.Y.

Gay B. Shepperson, Director, Division of Children and County Organization, State Department of Public Welfare, Georgia.

S. D. McKenny, State Deportation Agent, Chicago State Hospital, Chicago, Illinois.

[Footnote continued on following page]

the establishment of an office and paid executive. The objects of the association, as given in the by-laws, are:

- a) To educate public opinion regarding the fundamental importance of public welfare work in present-day government.
- b) To develop and maintain high standards of public welfare work.
- c) To collect and make available information and reports relative to administration, activities and functions of public welfare organizations and agencies throughout the country.

Committee on Developing and Protecting Professional Standards in Public Welfare Work:
Joseph L. Moss, Director Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, Court House, Chicago, Illinois, *Chairman*.

Grace Abbott, Chief, Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

S. P. Breckinridge, Professor of Public Welfare Administration, Graduate School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

Charles P. Messick, Secretary, Civil Service Commission, Trenton, New Jersey.

Lewis Meriam, Institute for Government Research, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Ellen C. Potter, State Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, N.J.

Mrs. A. M. Tunstall, Director, State Child Welfare Department, Montgomery, Alabama.

Committee on Reports and Statistics:

Dr. Emil Frankel, Director of Research, State Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, New Jersey.

Dr. Horatio M. Pollock, Director, Statistical Bureau, New York Department of Mental Hygiene, Albany, N.Y.

Agnes K. Hanna, Director, Social Service Division, Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

Emma O. Lundberg, Director of Surveys and Studies, Child Welfare League of America, New York, N.Y.

Elizabeth Yerxa, Director Juvenile Department, State Board of Control, Madison, Wisconsin.

Bennet Mead, Statistician, Bureau of Prisons, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

A. L. Bowen, Superintendent of Charities, State Department of Public Welfare, Springfield, Illinois.

Committee on Exhibits (continuing committee appointed to prepare for the Chicago Exposition):

A. L. Bowen, Superintendent of Charities, State Department of Public Welfare, Springfield, Illinois.

Amelia Sears, County Council, Cook County, Illinois.

Julia C. Lathrop, Rockford, Illinois.

John A. Brown, Secretary Board of State Charities, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Fred Johnson, State Superintendent, Michigan Children's Aid Society, Detroit, Michigan.

- d) To provide consultant and advisory service regarding welfare matters to cities, counties, and states, or to public welfare departments, and welfare institutions and agencies.
- e) To act as a medium of intercommunication for public welfare officials, institutions and agencies.
- f) To promote, in co-operation with schools, colleges and universities, training for public administration.
- g) To promote the correlation of the work of various agencies now in the public welfare field.

The officers and executive committee of the association for the year 1931-32 are as follows:

President: William J. Ellis, Commissioner of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, N.J.

Vice-President: Fred K. Hoehler, Director of Public Welfare of Hamilton County and Cincinnati, Ohio.

Secretary: Marietta Stevenson, U.S. Children's Bureau.

Treasurer: Frank Bane, Commissioner, State Department of Public Welfare, Richmond, Virginia.

Executive Committee:

William J. Ellis, President of the Association.

Fred K. Hoehler, Vice-President of the Association.

Grace Abbott, Chief, Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor.

Richard K. Conant, Commissioner Department of Public Welfare, Boston, Massachusetts.

L. A. Halbert, Director of State Institutions, State Public Welfare Commission, Providence, Rhode Island.

The executive committee met on July 9 to consider an official request for co-operation from Fred C. Croxton, acting chairman of the President's Committee for Employment, and to consider the budget which would be required both for the permanent staff and the special relief project. It was voted to undertake the special lines of co-operation requested, contingent upon the securing of the budget. It is hoped that funds may be obtained promptly so that co-operation with the President's Emergency Committee for Employment may be undertaken without delay. The executive committee was constituted the Committee on Public Relief and Welfare Service, the following members also being added for this purpose: Charles H. Johnson, commissioner, Department of Social Welfare, Albany, New York; Frank Bane, commissioner, State Department of Public Welfare, Richmond, Virginia; Mary Irene Atkinson, superintendent, Division of Charities, Department of Public Welfare, Columbus, Ohio.

A REVIEW AND FORECAST OF THE WORK
OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF
PUBLIC WELFARE OFFICIALS

A GROUP of public officials engaged in public social work held an informal conference in San Francisco at the National Conference of Social Work in 1929 and voted to ask the chairman of Division IX of the National Conference to arrange a meeting of officials, engaged in public social work, in Boston, in connection with the 1930 conference, for the purpose of organizing an association which would facilitate the exchange of experiences and advance their common interests. In accordance with this request, Richard K. Conant, the chairman of Division IX for 1930, called such a meeting, which was attended by some thirty or forty people engaged in public social work. They voted to form the American Association of Public Welfare Officials, elected officers, and appointed an executive committee with authority to act for the association during the year and to prepare a working plan to be submitted at the next meeting, which was to be held in connection with the National Conference of Social Work in Minneapolis.

This committee has drawn up a set of by-laws which will be submitted at this meeting for your consideration. The committee also arranged for the series of meetings which we have been holding this week.

At a meeting of the executive committee, held in New York in January, a subcommittee was appointed to consider the question of a continuing program of activity in the interests of public welfare work and to recommend a program of activities and estimate what employed secretariat and budget would be required to give effect to the program and to work out some practical plan for financing the organization. This committee has also been at work and its report will be submitted to you at this meeting. Early in the year the executive committee decided upon the appointment of three committees to work upon practical problems as follows:

- I. A committee on developing and protecting professional standards in public welfare work.

II. A committee on uniform reports and statistics.

III. A committee on uniform settlement laws and the transfer of dependents.

These committees have already made their reports at our preceding sessions here in Minneapolis.

One of the first things the executive committee did was to ask the Federal Children's Bureau if it could furnish a secretary for the association for this year, and the chief of the bureau designated Miss Marietta Stevenson, who had been gathering and analyzing information about the public welfare work of the different states for several years and who is familiar with the individuals and organizations in this field. The bureau prepared a special bulletin about our association, which it mailed to about two thousand persons engaged in public social work or directly interested in it all over the United States. Miss Stevenson also furnished news items about our association to numerous papers and social work publications, including *The Survey* and the *United States Daily*. Making a list of two thousand workers in public social work, which she assembled, took a great deal of correspondence. She received help from the chapters of the American Association of Social Workers, from the state departments of public welfare, and from many persons who regularly co-operate with the Children's Bureau. This list was furnished to the office of the president; and all the individuals on the list were sent personal letters soliciting them to join the association and supplying application blanks. The secretary of the National Conference of Social Work furnished a circular about the whole series of meetings connected with the National Conference of Social Work, which was inserted in our letters. We also arranged with the National Conference to send the May bulletin of the conference, containing all the programs of the different organizations, at our expense. We have arranged for the printing of our program in the general program of the conference so as to get our meetings before all those in attendance at the general meetings. The National Conference office has furnished our publicity to the Associated Press through the same machinery which handles the general news of the conference, without cost to us. We have also forwarded, to all our paid members, certificates entitling them to reduced railroad fare. We have arranged for a booth in the

exhibit room of the National Conference, toward which the association pays its quota of expenses, and the Children's Bureau has arranged for the exhibit which has been placed there. A special committee has arranged a schedule and secured the services of a dozen or so leaders in public welfare work to give consultation service at our booth. A special committee has been appointed to assist in arranging an exhibit of public welfare work at the Chicago World's Fair, known as "A Century of Progress," to be held in 1933. All these details of things done have been enumerated to give the members an idea of the amount of detailed work which the operation of such an association, even on a small scale, involves, if contact is to be made with nearly all of our legitimate constituency.

FUTURE SCOPE OF OUR ASSOCIATION

Much thought has been given by the officers and executive committee and special committees to what the scope and functions of our association should be. There are six general types of social work that are quite extensively developed under public auspices, as follows:

- I. Correctional work.
- II. Child welfare activities.
- III. Public relief (including institutional care and several varieties of outdoor relief).
- IV. Institutions and departments for mental cases.
- V. Recreational activities.
- VI. Public-health activities.

Some departments of public welfare correlate all these activities within a single department but this is by no means general. This makes confusion as to who should consider himself a public welfare official. Many who are engaged in these lines of work would not think of themselves as public welfare officials at all; and some even feel the necessity of differentiating themselves from public welfare officials because their activities exist side by side with public welfare departments and it would be confusing to use "public welfare" to describe their work, or "public welfare official" to describe their position. Some of these lines of work have national associations and are quite fully developed. For example, the National Probation Association is quite extensively developed with a view of doing, for its

particular field of social work, the same kind of thing which the American Association of Public Welfare Officials hopes to do in a general way for its own membership. The National Association for Penal Information distributes information to prison officials. The American Prison Association, which has no paid staff, renders to the people engaged in prison administration a limited service, such as the American Association of Public Welfare Officials would undertake to render to its membership if it operated with no paid staff and confined its activities largely to one annual meeting. There is an Association of Boys' Industrial Schools, which holds occasional conferences not open to the public. The National Committee on Prison Labor is an agency devoted entirely to one phase of prison administration. It has a paid staff and quite a national budget.

The question naturally arises whether the whole field of the correctional activities should be left out of the scope of the American Association of Public Welfare Officials, or whether some relationship with that field should be maintained because of the problems of budgeting and of personnel practice and institution management and other problems which the correctional group has in common with other public social agencies.

Some of the public child welfare agencies are organized into the National Conference of Juvenile Agencies. Occasional conferences of state child welfare agencies are called by the Federal Children's Bureau. On the whole, the public child welfare agencies may be said to be partially organized nationally. Some of the state child welfare bureaus are subdivisions in the state departments of public welfare. Some of them are independent departments and some are related to the health department. Many of them receive valuable assistance from the Child Welfare League of America, which serves both public and private child welfare agencies. Since many of the state child welfare bureaus are subdivisions of the state departments of public welfare, there are important reasons why the activities of these departments should be included in the American Association of Public Welfare Officials, but, if they are, what relation should be maintained with the National Conference of Juvenile Agencies? It remains to be determined what the American Association of Public Welfare Officials should do in this field.

The public-relief agencies have no national organization of any kind; but some states have organizations of directors of public aid, or almshouse superintendents, or people dealing with some other aspect of public relief. There is a small group, known as the "Mother's Aid Group," which holds meetings at the time of the National Conference of Social Work. Relief is a field of public social work about which there is more criticism than there is about any other. It certainly seems that there is an opportunity for the American Association of Public Welfare Officials to promote some further organization in this line of work to great advantage. The Family Welfare Association of America admits public departments and they should be encouraged to meet its standards and affiliate with it.

Massachusetts and New York are two very prominent states that have separate departments to handle the problems of mental health and correction besides having public welfare departments. Missouri also, and perhaps other states, has three separate departments of this kind. Social work for mental patients is mostly public social work. It is more or less related to the national health organization. The case work done in connection with such institutions is closely related to case work of a nonmedical sort. Many problems of institution management in this field are quite similar to those encountered by prison or almshouse superintendents. The American Association of Public Welfare Officials must decide its course of action in relation to this field of work.

There are thousands of public recreational workers in the United States and the National Recreation Association reports that 97 per cent of the park and playground activities are tax supported. The National Recreation Association has a very large budget and performs a remarkable service for the agencies of this field. It promotes the Recreation Congress. It is clear that the American Association of Public Welfare Officials can do little, if anything, to advance the interests of this group of public social workers but it may contribute slightly to the establishment of proper personnel standards in public social work in a way that may help this group.

The field of public health is highly organized and its workers emphasize the distinction between public health work and public welfare work. It is naturally hard to enumerate the great variety of

organizations in public health work, but it is worth while to call attention to the fact that most of the work in this field is done by public agencies rather than by private agencies. Doubtless the people in this field have something to contribute, from their experiences, to the people in other branches of public social work.

The question arises whether an attempt should be made to federate and correlate all the agencies doing, or promoting, public social work with a view to bringing up the dignity and morale and quality of public social work. The Bureau of Public Personnel Administration, with headquarters at 923 East Sixtieth Street, Chicago, Illinois, gives as its object "The Improvement of Public Personnel Practices." The Civil Service Assembly of United States and Canada pertains to personnel practices. The standards which are developed by such organizations naturally affect public social work. The bureaus of government efficiency deal with the financial problems of public social work. There is hardly a phase of public social work that is not affected by organizations, established on a national scale, to deal with the various problems which enter into its organization. Through the Public Administration Clearing House we can have contact with all of these. There are certain outstanding matters and problems on which the American Association of Public Welfare Officials has already appointed committees and there are certain other matters which our association should undoubtedly consider. Much needs to be done to correct the weak spots and to put public social work in a position to merit the confidence of the public and to enlist the enthusiasm and loyalty of those engaged in it.

EDUCATION THROUGH CONFERENCE ATTENDANCE

Our association can help to promote the participation of public social workers in the national and state conferences of social work and can interest the fiscal authorities of the states and local governments in providing funds to enable the public social workers to attend conferences. The association can also encourage the welfare agencies to put a premium on professional standing among their social work executives and employees. It can assist in making Division IX of the National Conference of Social Work the center of a very keen interest in public social work. If attendance upon good

social work conferences could be extended to thousands of public social workers who do not now attend it would be a great transforming influence in public social work. The inspiration and information gained at these conferences should work like a leaven through the whole system.

VOLUME OF PUBLIC SOCIAL WORK

Very few people realize the tremendous volume of public social work. I do not know how many people are professionally employed in public social work positions of one kind or another. The National Probation Association says there are 3,929 probation officers in the United States. There must be at least 1,000 people employed in administering mothers' allowances. It would be conservative to say that there are as many public relief workers as there are probation officers. The *Social Work Year Book* reports that 2,700 recreation leaders are employed full-time in municipal recreation departments and 23,000 workers, exclusive of caretakers, laborers, clerks, etc., are employed in public recreation departments during the active play season. When you consider the people who are employed professionally in almshouses, prisons, children's homes, hospitals for mental disease, industrial schools, and schools for feeble-minded, all under public auspices, and count medical social workers, parole officers, visiting teachers, etc., it takes no stretch of imagination to estimate that there are at least 20,000 positions in public social work that should be filled by trained social workers in the United States.

The statistics of family relief, gathered by the Federal Children's Bureau in co-operation with the Community Chests, showed for 1930 that nearly three-fourths of all the family relief given in the cities studied was given out of public funds. Since private social work is better developed in the cities than in the country, and either the town or county practically everywhere maintains local outdoor relief, it is more than likely that the proportion of outdoor relief that comes from the public funds would be fully four-fifths for the whole country. The public has been impressed by the distribution of ten million dollars by the Red Cross to relieve the farmers; but the increase in public relief by public agencies to help both the farmer and the unemployed has amounted to a great deal more than that.

Correctional work is largely a governmental function. Surely 90 per cent of the social work done in the correctional field is done by public agencies, such as prisons, probation departments, and reform schools.

Playgrounds constitute a very large proportion of social recreation, and in 1929 "84 per cent of \$33,500,000 spent for community recreation was from tax funds."

Slightly over half of all the hospital beds in the country are devoted to the care of mental patients and the proportion of the patients that are in private sanitariums is very small indeed. Among the general hospitals the ones supported by public funds are also the ones in which charity cases are concentrated.

The study of social work in nineteen cities, made by Raymond Clapp in 1924, which undertook to cover all phases of social work, showed that more money was then received from taxes than from gifts for social work as a whole. Besides, no account was taken of state and federal agencies at all.

There is a distinct trend in the direction of placing more and more social work on a basis of governmental support. This trend is excellently illustrated by the fact that during the last twenty years the entire mothers' aid movement has developed from nothing to a point where two hundred thousand children are now being benefited by mothers' allowances.

Already several hundred million dollars of public funds are going into public welfare work annually, and the amount is growing.

BUSINESS MEN'S INTEREST IN PUBLIC WELFARE WORK

There is no line of work that should receive more enthusiastic support, from a business point of view, than the development of business efficiency and scientific skill in the operation of the vast public welfare activities of the country.

If the heads of the greatest financial firms in the country accept responsibility and leadership in the Community Chest movement, which is developing private social work, as they do, there is no reason to doubt that they will manifest the same interest in the development of public social work, if they are brought to see what practical

steps can be taken to put public social work on a plane of skill and efficiency that will equal the best there is anywhere.

Anybody intelligently interested in public questions at all will admit that the objects sought by the formation of the American Association of Public Welfare Officials are of extreme importance. If the association is really an efficient agency in achieving the objects it has set before itself it cannot help but make a great contribution to the advancement of human welfare and to the development of scientific social work and to scientific management in the business end of public welfare work.

SECURING ABLE PERSONNEL FOR PUBLIC WELFARE AGENCIES

In considering the possibilities of promoting the objects for which we stand, I would place first on our program a plan for recruiting and developing the finest possible personnel to man the public welfare activities of the country and, incidentally to this job, for making further plans for securing their selection and their retention in office.

There must be, among qualified social workers or prospective social workers, a certain determination to extend their professional standards over the field of public social work. The deterrents that keep the best social workers from trying for the places in public departments must be overcome. These deterrents include, first of all, a feeling that these positions are insecure; and, secondly, a feeling that the machinations of politicians might undermine a person's administrative authority and that the spreading of innuendoes and false accusations might jeopardize the reputation and professional standing of all social workers who sought and secured appointments in public welfare work. These dangers are real. They must be met partly by the spirit of the crusader who is willing to take some risks and accept some sacrifices. Physical suffering and financial loss are not so hard to bear as the loss of reputation and social and professional prestige, but economic insecurity is not a welcome experience for a person with a family to support, and nobody enjoys the prospect of spending his old age in poverty.

The persons of real worth and professional standing who take a chance in the field of public social work should have the backing of the whole professional body of social workers and especially of all

their fellow-workers in the field of public welfare work. When such a person loses his or her position there should be no presumption of unfitness, unless there is a definite proof of unworthiness, and there should be an active upholding of professional standing and reputation of qualified public social workers on the part of the whole body of social workers. I think that such an attitude on the part of social workers does exist to a certain extent now but it needs to be strengthened.

The National Recreation Association exemplifies this idea to some extent. The executive secretary of that organization told me one time that his organization stood behind good recreation leaders and tried, through positions in its own field staff and through its placements, to keep them afloat when they were displaced by politics as sometimes happened.

Public welfare workers, and especially those in prominent positions, have sometimes been helpful in relocating their fellow-workers who were displaced by politics. All the private social agencies of any community should co-operate to relocate well-trained, competent, and worthy public welfare workers when they are displaced through politics.

The general adoption of this attitude and policy and the incorporation of it into the ethics of social work would make trained social workers more ready to accept public welfare jobs. Also, if the social agencies and the social workers stand by the public social workers when they are under unreasonable fire, or when their work is threatened unjustly, they will be more secure in their positions.

At the present time, one difficulty in fighting against political changes in the personnel of public welfare departments is that often the people who are being displaced cannot claim any particular training or qualifications for their work. The people who would fight for the security of public welfare workers need to have the very best persons in office to fight for. Every time a really fine social worker is found in a public welfare position and is successfully backed up, the precedent against political removals is greatly strengthened. I have seen figures somewhere about the wardens of state prisons which showed that their average time in office was very short, and I presume that similar figures could be shown about the superin-

tendents of all sorts of public institutions, but I am sure that there are many heads of state institutions who have had long and honorable terms of service and whose old age has been provided for by some sinecure. Why have these particular superintendents survived while others came and went? I will venture that in many cases they were too good to discharge while many of the short-termers could be replaced without so much loss. In other words, when really good able officers get into public welfare positions they tend to stick longer than the general run who have no particular training or qualifications.

Well-trained social workers should be induced by the socially minded citizens of the different communities to become applicants for all the social work positions that are open in public welfare work, and they should be backed in their efforts to secure these positions. I feel sure that a sentiment for doing this can be developed among the social agencies and that this is a good piece of work for the American Association of Public Welfare Officials.

TRAINING SOCIAL WORKERS ON THE JOB

One of the sessions of the National Conference this year has already been devoted to the subject of training public welfare workers on the job. The practice of giving training in this way already exists in a number of the best public agencies, but much could be done by this association to popularize this practice and extend it, and the results in improved standards would be very great.

CONSULTATION SERVICE

Public welfare work in the different states is carried on under a great variety of forms of administration.

Some states have many independent institutions with separate boards for each one and also have various bureaus with heads appointed by the governors, and the bureaus operate independently. In such places the process of unification and reorganization is usually being agitated or may be actually going on. Cities are also expanding and reorganizing their social work functions. These states and cities practically always desire to learn of the forms used in other places and to profit by the experiences of others. If the American

Association of Public Welfare Officials had an office and a staff that could give consultation service on forms of organization it would be used very much in the transitional period when so much reorganization is going on.

The development of rural, town, and county public welfare work is another line of progress that could be greatly assisted by our association if it were equipped to give consultation service to those who wish it. The maintenance of a roster of the officials of public departments handling social work problems would oftentimes enable the office of the association to put the various consultants in touch with those people whose co-operation was needed in handling cases, or with departments whose experience would throw light on their problems.

EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY

The association should carry out a broad program of education in regard to public welfare work which would educate the people to use the term "public welfare work" as the distinctive name of all public social work and which would impress the people and the social workers of the country with the vast extent of public welfare work and the enormous cost of it and the consequent importance of promoting the highest possible skill and efficiency in its administration. This educational work should call attention to the marked shift from private to public administration of social work within recent years and should help to formulate a philosophy that will govern the development of public social work in a manner that will accord with the most efficient organization of society and the finest personal development of the whole general citizenry. It should develop enthusiasm among the workers engaged in public welfare work and should develop a sense of confidence in the public agencies and a sense of pride and loyalty toward them on the part of all the citizens. The development of mutual fellowship and a sense of solidarity among the public welfare workers will be greatly advanced by the attendance of all these workers on the meetings, and by the reading of the bulletins of the American Association of Public Welfare Officials. Such meetings and bulletins are undoubtedly an important part of the program of education and publicity which we should carry on.

CORRELATION WITH OTHER NATIONAL AGENCIES

There is an important service to be performed in the way of correlating the agencies that are handling different phases of public welfare work, such as: the American Prison Association, the National Probation Association, the Visiting Teachers Association, the Mother's Aid Group, and the National Conference of Children's Agencies. There is very little consciousness on the part of the different types of public welfare workers that they are detachments of a big army that is carrying out a unified national program. Mr. Guy Moffet, of the Spelman Fund, has said that the ideal organization would be to have all officials having to do with any phase of public welfare work in one organization, which would be broken up into sections that deal with the different phases. The American Association of Public Welfare Officials should initiate conferences that would promote greater co-operation among all these organizations that exist within the public welfare field. It should not begin by setting up a paper organization that theoretically correlates them, but it should promote such mutual consideration of common interests among the organizations as will lead in the direction of correlation.

AN ADEQUATE BUDGET FOR THE ASSOCIATION

There are two types of organization among the national associations.

One type confines itself practically to the promotion of a yearly conference of the members and depends on volunteer officers. The officers do not usually hold office for more than a couple of years. These associations depend mainly on small annual fees from the members to finance them, and their budgets run from about \$200 to \$500 a year. The clerical work is mostly donated by the organizations from which the officers come. This is the type of organization we have now. Our organization is practically a revival of the American Association of Public Officials of Charities and Corrections, which operated from about 1916 to 1922, and then died. That association never influenced public welfare work to any important degree and no association organized on such a basis ever will.

The other type of organization is represented by such associations

as the National Probation Association and the National Recreation Association, which went out for donations and employed permanent staffs and became national agencies. These latter associations have made tremendous contributions to the advancement of social work in the field where they operate. The Probation Association has an annual budget of about \$70,000 and the Recreation Association has a budget of \$400,000. The Association of Community Chests and Councils, which holds a position in relation to private social work analogous to the American Association of Public Welfare Officials in the field of public social work, has an annual budget of over \$50,000 and raises funds for special research projects besides.

If our association is ever going to carry out a program of any importance along the lines I have suggested here this evening, it can only do so by securing a good budget and becoming an agency with an office and a permanent staff. In my judgment a national organization with such a program as I have outlined would be considered a worthy and justifiable project and would be cheerfully supported by those who are looking for efficient ways to advance the cause of human welfare.

L. A. HALBERT

STATE PUBLIC WELFARE COMMISSION
PROVIDENCE, R.I.

A COUNTY PUBLIC WELFARE PROGRAM IN A LARGE CITY

ALL our public social work has for its basis the poor law concepts which our fathers brought with them to America in the early seventeenth century. The responsibility of the local community for the care of its less fortunate members is deeply imbedded in our social consciousness. A new interpretation of this responsibility has been offered in recent years, which interpretation is becoming more and more accepted. The old interpretation stressed the responsibility of the individual for his condition and asserted that, while the dependent individual must be cared for, the welfare of the group would not allow any more assistance to him than would keep him from actual physical suffering. Preventive work had little place in the old interpretation. The new interpretation recognizes that forces beyond the control of the individual are in great part responsible for his condition and that the group in exercising its responsibility toward the unfortunate must seek to understand him and to plan intelligently for his restoration to independence; or, if his condition is such that this cannot be done, to care for him kindly. In addition, a whole series of social institutions are seeking to combat the conditions which bring about dependency and even more are trying to make life fuller for all. The unit of administration of public relief has been the county or the town. Sometimes a combination of the two has been developed, decision in giving relief resting with the township officer, the county paying the bill. In general, the arguments seem to favor the county as the unit, the rural areas sharing with the congested districts such social service as the county provides and as the particular situation calls for.

In agreeing to write this paper I asked permission to use as a basis the experience and first-hand information which I have had in the course of my work. My use of Chicago material must not be attributed to any chauvinism on my part, for no one knows better than I do the shortcomings of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare and the length of the road toward really satisfactory stand-

ards which the bureau still has to travel. It is because the situation in Chicago is not unlike that of other communities that interest may attach to a study of the Cook County Bureau. Three-fourths of the inhabitants of Cook County are within the limits of the city of Chicago, which has a population of four millions.

Illinois has had legal provision for the care of indigent persons by the county since 1819. The second session of the Illinois legislature repeated, in a statute providing for the relief of the poor, the basic provision of the Elizabethan poor law with regard to the responsibility of the family for the care of its dependents, provided for a measure of outdoor relief, and provided for the farming out of paupers to the lowest bidder at public auction, held annually, the county to pay the bill. Later legislation authorized county almshouses and other institutional provision, but the "pauper law" with its "emergency relief" idea remained pretty much unchanged in Illinois until 1925, when the legislature passed "An act to create, establish and maintain in counties having a population of 500,000 inhabitants or more, a bureau of public welfare, in aid of powers and duties of such counties, and the powers, functions and authority of courts of record in such counties, relative and pertaining to social service functions of said counties and said courts." This law introduced a new philosophy of public relief in Illinois. There had been breaks in the tradition of poor law relief, notably mothers' pensions, blind pensions, and relief to the families of indigent veterans, but these were exceptions rather than deliberate departures from accepted philosophy.

What brought the change? Simply this—private social work had developed standards of service which commanded the genuine respect of the community. The recognition of this social service made it possible for the Chicago Council of Social Agencies to point out to the president of the board of county commissioners that the poor relief service of Cook County had stood like an island untouched by the stream of social service which had passed by it and that his administration could not afford to let the situation continue. He asked specific recommendations. These led to the drafting and the enactment of an inclusive law which in Cook County would combine the public social service activities in a single bureau, excepting only

the probation departments of the courts. A section of this law construing the phrase "social service function" which reads, "The furnishing of social service and making provision of aid, food, clothing, medical attention and other relief to all persons in said county applying for or in need thereof," indicates the wide scope of work which is possible in the new bureau of public welfare.

The bureau has succeeded because it has been the special charge of the social workers of Chicago. Immediately following the enactment of the law a social work group, acting by official appointment of the board of county commissioners as a general committee on plan, submitted to that body a comprehensive report. This embodied a discussion of county social services and their administration at the time that the law became effective and further presented a plan for the organization of the new bureau. This plan has stood the test of five years' experience without significant alteration. It still points the way. The outstanding features of this plan are:

1. *Personnel.* (a) Those employees in the old service who had been appointed by civil service examination were to be taken over without further examination and reclassified in the new bureau without loss of status or salary grade.

b) Selection of the enlarged staff was to be made by civil service examination, stressing the necessity of securing persons of education and professional training for all social work positions in the bureau.

2. *Case work.* This was to be of professional standard through the whole service, with treatment as a definite part of the case work process. This policy marked a change from the old plan with its stress on investigation against fraud and its lack of concern beyond the giving of the county's inadequate relief.

3. *Recognition of the desirability of both public and private endeavor.* This was to be accomplished by the presentation of a plan for a division of responsibility by type of case rather than by type of relief or service. The fine working relationship between public and private social agencies in Chicago has been one of the gratifying things in connection with the bureau.

4. *An advisory board of the new Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare.* This was to be created by action of the county board of commissioners. This is a citizens' group made up of executives in social work and others definitely interested in the public-welfare problem. The public control is in the board of county commissioners, which is an elective body. The city of Chicago has a city department of public welfare but its activities are confined to the making of surveys and the operation of a municipal lodging house. There is, therefore, no duplication of effort between the county and the city departments. The activities of the county bureau are very largely concentrated in the city of Chicago because that is the center of population.

The Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare began with three major activities, and for administrative purposes the bureau was organized into three divisions, each division in charge of an assistant director. It now has six divisions and a staff of more than 200 employees. These divisions are as follows:

1. *Field-service division.*—This division has to do with general family social service. It is the largest division of the bureau, having nine district offices. The outdoor relief which the county gives is distributed through this division. Because of financial difficulties we have not yet been able to get beyond the inadequate relief basis which has so frequently characterized public relief. The maximum public relief given in Cook County consists of food supplies delivered monthly to the homes of clients, fresh milk, shoes, and coal. We have greatly improved the food ration, both as to variety and quality, and we have instituted a delivery system through contract with a wholesale grocery firm, doing away with the county store houses which were formerly connected with the district offices.

Relief to the families of veterans, which group is recognized by statute as entitled to special consideration, is given through this field-service division of the bureau under the general supervision of the veterans' organizations.

The field-service division administers the blind pensions, furnishes medical service to poor persons in their own homes through a staff of 30 physicians, maintains a summer outing camp with a capacity of 500 persons and does other tasks which are ordinarily connected with general family service.

2. *Institutional-service division.*—This division is concerned with admissions to the county hospital and the county infirmary and with the development of a social service in these institutions. The bureau is responsible for and must approve each admission to these two county institutions. The investigation at the hospital is concerned with questions of legal eligibility for care and economic need and is largely confined to an office interview with prospective patients or relatives. Applications for admission to the infirmary or county home are considered on the findings of an adequate social investigation.

Social service work in the county hospital is not at this time under the direction of the bureau of public welfare but is an activity of the school of nursing of this hospital. The beginnings of a social service in the infirmary, of which the admission investigation is the first step, are in process of organization at the present time. There can be no doubt of the desirability of this social service in both the individual's interest and that of public financial economy.

3. *Court-service division.*—This division furnishes a social service to the civil and criminal courts of the county in which the adult and juvenile probation departments do not function. Nonsupport cases under the pauper law, divorce investigations, and alimony collections are activities which have had particular attention in the court-service division. An investigational service in the criminal

court in the cases of defendants who are held in the county jail has been developed. The report of the investigation, which attempts to bring out the social facts in the life of the individual, is submitted to the trial judge on the date of the hearing. This report is not a controversial report. It does not deal with the question of guilt or innocence, and no recommendations are made. Through the bureau an opportunity is given to the judges in the various courts of the county to get social information on cases pending before them. The response from the judges is evidence of the need and desirability of this service.

4. *Rural public health division.*—This division, added two years ago, was placed in the bureau as a part of the general administrative plan. A county nursing service in the rural sections of Cook County, where local community organizations to provide for this service is not possible, had been in existence for a number of years. The rural public health division provides a general public health nursing service which includes inspection of school children, infant welfare conferences, correction of physical defects—including dental service, and a general health education program. This rural public health service offers an excellent example of the value of a county department which is able to extend its standards of work to rural communities.

5. *Behavior clinic of the criminal court.*—This department, added to the bureau within the past year, is a diagnostic, psychiatric service organized to serve in an advisory capacity to the judges of the criminal court. The clinic examines defendants referred on order of the chief justice or the presiding judge in the case. The plan is to refer the defendant after conviction and before disposition is made.

Such a project in connection with the criminal court has long been in the public mind. The American Bar Association, the American Medical Association, and the American Psychiatric Association have long advocated something of this sort. The clinic is concerned primarily with the social adjustment of individuals who have come into conflict with society. An intensive study of each is made before suggesting a possible disposition of his case. The clinic routine includes a fourfold type of examination:

1. Thorough physical examination with special attention to constitutional and neurological factors;
2. Psychological examination to evaluate the patient's personality in terms of his mental ability;
3. Social investigation concerned with the history of the development and experience of the individual and a detailed study of his environment;
4. Psychiatric examination to co-ordinate all previous findings with the psychiatrist's integrated picture of the individual. Staff conferences form a part of this examination.

The behavior clinic of the criminal court hopes to make a contribution to the administration of criminal justice through a scientific study of the individual offender.

6. *Public defender.*—The office of public defender, like the behavior clinic, has been added to the bureau's divisions within the past year. The public generally has not been greatly concerned over the misfortunes of the poor who become entangled with the criminal law. Judges and lawyers have known of the miscarriage of justice through the failure of proper legal representation of the indigent person. It has been the practice for the judge to ask the defendant brought before him for arraignment if he had a lawyer or was able to obtain one. If the defendant answered that he had no funds, then the judge appointed a lawyer to represent and defend him. Occasionally, competent counsel was secured who gave the case adequate attention. More often a young inexperienced lawyer or an unscrupulous criminal lawyer took the case in the hope that from the client's relatives or friends he would be able to obtain a fee. In most cases cash payment was not available and an arrangement for payment of the fee in installments was effected. This promise to pay had far-reaching effects upon the prisoner sitting in jail. The important thing in the mind of some of these lawyers was to prevent the trial of the case before all the money was paid. This meant frequent delays and continuances.

We have now had almost a year's experience with the public-defender plan. The public defender, acting either in person or through his staff of six assistants, is appointed to represent indigent prisoners. Cases are prepared by him with as much care as is exercised by the state's attorney. The public defender has made it clear that he does not believe it his duty to aid guilty prisoners beyond assuring them a fair trial according to law. In cases where defendants admit that they are guilty and there is no defense, he carries out his duty by doing his utmost to see that the prisoner, though guilty, receives no unjust punishments. Where the guilt or innocence of a defendant is not apparent—as is often the case—the public defender's office presents and urges every right of the defendant on a plea of not guilty. By repeatedly establishing a record of fairness, not only with judges and prosecutors, but also with prisoners, the public defender's office expects to make its contribution to the restoration of respect for law, courts, and justice.

The establishment of the public defender's office has resulted in a great financial saving to the taxpayer through prompt trials of cases, the saving being effected not only in the cost of keeping the prisoner but also in jurors' fees and the time of judges and court officers. This, of course, is quite apart from the saving of time of witnesses, many of whom, including police officers, are in the public employ.

The foregoing outline of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare is given to indicate the wider scope of work possible in a county bureau which would not be possible in a bureau of a city government. A city bureau could not serve the courts of the county, nor, in most states, could it administer public relief. The larger area served

has meant a standard service to rural communities that could never have had this service except through a county-wide organization. A co-ordinated effort of all public social service is easier to maintain with an inclusive organization. At no point has there been felt a disadvantage because the authority for the bureau comes from the county rather than from the city government.

JOSEPH L. MOSS

COOK COUNTY BUREAU OF PUBLIC WELFARE
CHICAGO

MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENTS OF PUBLIC WELFARE

BY WAY of introducing this subject it is well to recall that for a period of years prior to and just following the World War there was a fairly general financial starvation of public charities which shifted public functions to private philanthropy. This was somewhat encouraged by the growth of the Community Chest movement just following the war. Very recently the swing is again toward public support of charitable activities. A review of the annual reports of various municipal departments of public welfare over the past few years will reveal an amazing growth of interest in this field of city government. The human side of public service has no standard form of organization but is evolving into a very clear obligation of municipal government with many ramifications into the city and community life.

There are as many different types of organizations with varying functions as there are departments or bureaus in this field. No two communities have endeavored to approach this service from the same point of need.

Some cities combine the services of dependency, behavior, leisure time, and health (hospitals), while others have one or more of these functions under separate departments or boards. In several municipalities it is extremely difficult to separate public and private endeavors in these activities.

A complete statement of functions for a municipal department of public welfare should include the following:

1. The promotion of physical and mental health.
2. The prevention and relief of dependency.
3. The prevention and correction of delinquency.
4. The development of recreational opportunities.
5. The promotion of a program for character-building.
6. The creation of opportunities for vocational adjustment and guidance.

The first three of these divisions have received recognition as legitimate responsibilities of the government for which taxpayers have carried an increasing share of the cost each year. The last three—recreation, character-building, and vocational guidance—are still largely carried by private agencies. Recreational opportunities are, in a few cases, being promoted by the government through public schools, park authorities, or by special bureaus or departments set up to develop them. Character-building activities and interest in the field of vocational guidance have scarcely been recognized as municipal functions except as they are a part of the public education system.

Municipal public welfare functions, as generally accepted, might then easily be classified for discussion into two main divisions—institutional and non-institutional. The first group will include the institutions for (1) the care of the sick and defective, (2) the care of dependents (aged and children), (3) the care of delinquents.

In all institutional programs there is much to be discarded and a great deal to be learned. Mere political officeholders or timeservers as heads of these institutions are being excluded by an intelligent and informed public opinion.

The increasing use of public institutions of certain types has resulted in a new set of standards. Technical training, so long neglected as a qualification for the superintendent, has found its way into requirements set by boards of control and civil-service boards.

The difficulties of these institutions have not been confined to the superintendents and their associates but have been found as well in the generally poor physical equipment and more frequently in the inadequate social treatment of the inmates.

The hospitals for both acute and chronic cases are being called upon to serve larger numbers of the population. The increasing urbanization in this country, the growing use of small apartments, and a vigorous program of health education have made hospital care a necessity in nearly every American family. These facts alone have brought hospital administration and service vividly to the attention of millions of city dwellers during the past two decades.

The homes for aged and for children, except those where hospital and nursing care is necessary, may soon become obsolete. Boarding

homes for children and even for the aged are already the approved practice in most communities, and institutions are used only for temporary shelter. The increase of social legislation in various states, resulting in pensions and compulsory insurance, will reduce the institutional care required for the older groups.

In the realm of correctional institutions, workhouses, and jails, our American cities are still in the dark ages. Many municipalities have attempted with more or less satisfactory results to establish prison or workhouse farms. In the majority of cases we are still groping for an adequate program. Short sentences and, in some cases, political interference leave very little opportunity for satisfactory treatment of inmates. Why not a more thorough classification of municipal prisoners with work and social programs suited for the various groups?

The repeater in a municipal workhouse is generally sentenced for a short term each time he appears and is very possibly in need of mental or physical treatment, which no workhouse can provide. Among other groups much crime prevention should result from considering the prisoner as one who needs treatment and not only as one from whom society must be protected. It is barely possible that he needs protection from society and social forces.

Slowly we are developing probation divisions and coming to understand the value of newer research methods in the fields of correction and of mental hygiene. The day may come when even the more satisfactory prison farm will be considered wholly unnecessary. Municipal welfare departments must be alive to these newer developments as programs for improvements are considered.

It is in the present noninstitutional field that municipal public welfare will increasingly assume larger responsibilities. As all social workers are aware, the trend of the past few years has been to place more of the burden of care for dependency and for relief directly upon public bodies. The present depression has intensified this effort. Cities, which have depended upon private agencies to meet the social needs of the community, have been compelled to resort to tax funds to meet the imperative needs of the time. It will be difficult to shift the burden back to private social agencies, and municipalities must build a force to continue to carry it.

Private agencies have always been recognized as the leaders in the fields of social service. They have much which public agencies should emulate. Case work technique has come out of private experiments and the expenditures of private agencies, and it deserves more regular application in public agencies. The boards of private agencies have succeeded so well in interpreting the work of the agencies to the public that funds are gladly given for their support. A similar work in public relations should be assumed by public welfare boards and advisory committees so that citizens will more readily understand their responsibilities as taxpayers toward meeting the growing needs of public departments. Too frequently municipal departments of welfare are poorly financed because of the fear of an increased tax rate. Intelligent understanding in the community will remove that fear and add confidence in public administration of social agencies.

We are entering a new day in the realm of municipal welfare. This service of government, which deals so intimately with human life and happiness, should be given the same careful attention as has gone to other forms of public service. The development of technique and professional standards in the municipal engineering service must find a counterpart in the human services of government. When the costs of service and the expenditures for equipment and various forms of relief are fully recognized, the taxpayers will create a demand for greater intelligence in the planning for social welfare and for more careful selection of a staff to administer the plan.

The most important service of a public welfare agency is that of establishing close co-operation between government departments for a united social program and between government and private social agencies for a combined community effort on behalf of the public welfare. Unless this co-ordination is assured, there occur frequent loss of energy and duplication of effort at unnecessary expense to the community.

One conception of an ideal municipal welfare director is a staff officer of the government who has a plan for the improvement of conditions which will make his city a healthier and happier place in which to work and live; this plan to be challenging and virile enough to move all departments to action. No real city plan can be de-

veloped where the welfare forces of a city have no voice. The engineering service, the housing bureau, the police, the courts, the fire department, the waste-disposal department, and all other branches of government are in the last analysis serving the public welfare. A co-ordinated plan of service among all these forces would be more complete and of greater efficiency if the social groups to be served were always carefully considered.

It is not too much to expect that the police force of a metropolitan area should have definite training in sociology. Not every patrolman should be expected to be a social worker, but certainly the group has sufficient social force in the community so that it might even be considered a division of a municipal welfare department. The patrolman could be a leader in social reconstruction instead of so often being allied with the forces which are destroying society.

A municipal department of welfare should so project its work and service throughout the community that every constructive social force will have its support. Where the housing problems of a city are the concern of another municipal department, or even of a private agency, the welfare officers should lend every influence and service to help solve this important and basic problem in our modern urban life. When greater community interest or action is required for bettering the housing facilities and improving other standards of living, the welfare department should furnish the leadership which creates it.

Private agencies may provide for disaster relief or community emergencies, but, in the end, it is a government's responsibility to protect its citizens and provide for their needs. Where there is such a program under private auspices, the municipal welfare official should win the support of all government departments to that program with no particular thought of making it his own, but rather with the one idea of preparing for complete community action in any sudden emergency affecting life and property.

Where the community has provided no plan for disaster relief, it becomes the responsibility of the municipal department of welfare to call upon all forces in the community to organize under its direction for service in case of emergencies.

We are passing through a serious social catastrophe in which

government for the most part has muddled through from week to week with no conception of a plan to meet the needs arising daily or any idea of responsibility for preventing a recurrence of such a calamity.

Regardless of what we may think of the cause of unemployment or the source of responsibility, we know definitely that the social welfare problems of a city are increased a hundred fold because we have had increasing unemployment for over two years.

It is reasonable to expect leadership in community organization for unemployment relief inside the government as well as outside the official city life. It is also reasonable to expect that officials of the government should so cement and use their leadership that from it will come a plan for community action to relieve suffering and for social reconstruction which will prevent much of that suffering in the future.

In the employment and placement service of a community the municipal government has a primary responsibility. A citizen who is willing to work and is without employment deserves the best effort the government can extend on his behalf to place him or to connect him with a possible job. The security of employment for that man and all others who work in a community must be the concern of government. The experience of unemployment we are passing through has been too costly for individuals and for government to afford further shifting of responsibility.

Junior placement and vocational guidance present a field for government service where considerable can be done to reduce the possibility of poor adjustment in industry and insecurity of employment.

The welfare division of a city should not only be a group of officials carrying out legal requirements in relief-giving and the care of defectives or delinquents but it must so reconstruct social thought and action that the necessity for those legal functions may partially disappear. In no short lifetime or shorter political administration dare we hope for such accomplishment, but each life and each administration may make a large contribution to that end.

A very useful suggestion which comes to us from several urban centers is in the consolidation of municipal and county welfare ac-

tivities. Such combination of functions permits lessening of duplication and more easily controlled standards of service. Counties were designed primarily for government of rural areas. In our American urban centers the old county form of government has caused decided confusion and overlapping of functions. This is a serious handicap to good welfare administration in large industrial communities.

The welfare activities of a city and of the county in which it is situated are generally an accretion of individual activities developed in accordance with state and local legislation and administered by various boards, departments, or commissions. In states where a consolidation of county activities is possible through legislation, confusion is on the wane and intelligent co-operation for the public good is increasing. Surely this development merits our careful consideration.

What is needed by social welfare agencies, both public and private, is recognition of a large task—too great for any one group, but needing the united force of all. This is a task not to be accomplished today, or even tomorrow, but one in which each day we shall come nearer a solution, if our vision is great enough and our energies are not wasted in useless competition.

FRED K. HOEHLER

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A STATE PROGRAM OF PUBLIC WELFARE WORK INCLUDING COUNTY AND RURAL WORK

SEVERAL days ago, Fred C. Croxton, acting chairman of the President's Emergency Committee for Employment said: "It is evident that there has been no emergency since the War which has demanded thoughtful help of public-spirited organizations more than the present unemployment situation and the problems which are growing out of it. The Committee realizes that whatever the trend of business during the balance of the year, the demand for relief will be unusually heavy next fall and winter. In fact, information has reached us that unmet needs for relief during the spring and summer are urgent in certain localities. Experience has shown that primary dependence for meeting this need must be placed on local sources, both of private charity and local government."

Mr. Croxton states the case mildly. From their experience last winter and from their experience with previous depressions, every relief organization and agency realizes that whatever turn business may take, the problems of relief for the winter of 1931-32 will be comparable to those of the winter through which we have just passed, possibly more aggravated.

The question which confronts us is what shall we do about it.

As a result of the controversy which raged last winter over the method of relief, many persons, and, in fact, many communities have obtained an entirely erroneous idea as to the history and development of relief programs in the United States. Time and again it has been stated that the giving of relief was an obligation primarily of philanthropically inclined individuals and private associations and agencies. Many people have also stated that the relief of distress from public sources would be in its very nature a dole and something that should be avoided at all costs.

It would be interesting in view of these things to examine the conditions which exist in America in order to appraise the situation as it really is. Historically, the relief of destitution and want since the days of the colonies has been regarded as a public responsibility to be financed out of the local public treasuries.

Prior to the beginning of the twentieth century, I think we are safe in saying that, save in a few cities, relief came almost altogether from public sources.

With the beginning of the twentieth century, private agencies and philanthropic organizations which had been established in our larger cities began to spread throughout the country. These organizations and agencies, convinced that public relief was inadequately administered, attempted with a great degree of success to develop an intelligent and comprehensive system for the handling of our problems of destitution and want.

Despite the enormous growth of these organizations and agencies, we find in the year 1930 that 72 per cent of all the monies for family relief expended in seventy-five of our largest cities was disbursed by public agencies as contrasted with 60 per cent from public sources in 1929 from the same cities.

We find also that the expenditures of private agencies as between 1929 and 1930 increased 48 per cent whereas public departments in these same cities extended their grants 146 per cent. These figures are from a report of the United States Children's Bureau.

These facts serve but to illustrate a very significant trend in this country—a trend toward increased public participation in this field.

When in the years to come, someone writes the history of private philanthropy in America, the winter of 1930-31 will stand out as a red-letter era. No group of organizations and agencies ever strove more earnestly, more intelligently, and more devotedly to handle a stupendous problem than did the private organizations and agencies in our cities throughout the country. The same may be said of the Red Cross in the drought area.

At the present time these same private organizations and agencies are exerting themselves to the utmost to plan for what they know is coming in 1931 and 1932.

May I urge, however, that government has a responsibility in this matter. We cannot and should not expect these private organizations to handle alone a problem far beyond their capacity because of their limited resources. It is the duty of government to work with them, to plan with them, and to carry its portion of the increased load.

During the past quarter of a century, these private organizations have developed a technique. As government expands its activities in the field of relief, it should avail itself of this technique and should adhere to standards which have been developed and which have proved so effective.

It is the obligation of public departments, local and state, to make an especially careful survey, immediately, of conditions as they exist now, and of the situation which will develop and the need incident thereto.

It is further the obligation of the public department to develop in its locality or in its state even more effective organization which will be able, in co-operation with private institutions and agencies, to handle whatever condition may arise.

It is also the obligation of the public department, and I cannot emphasize this too strongly, in the further development of a relief program, to maintain proper and approved standards in order that the unfortunate may receive constructive service, and in order that public resources may not be squandered; and, finally, it is the obligation of the public department to see that adequate resources are available for the prevention of destitution and want.

May I repeat, whatever our wishes or opinions may be in the matter, the primary responsibility, in the last analysis, for the relief of destitution and want is the responsibility of all of us—a public responsibility! We cannot shirk this responsibility if we would.

Upon our ability to handle intelligently, constructively, and adequately this great human problem depends not only the welfare of the destitute but the peace and happiness of all of us. Once again we are learning the everlasting truth of that saying of President Roosevelt about a quarter of a century ago—"that this country is going to be a good place for some of us to live when it is a good place for all of us."

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DEVELOPING AND PROTECTING PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS IN PUBLIC WELFARE WORK¹

BECAUSE of the disabilities and the inadequacies of its chairman, no meeting of the Committee on Professional Standards has been held. This statement is offered not as a committee report or as a chairman's report but as a basis for discussion at this meeting.

It should, perhaps, be stated at the outset that we are considering here only social workers and social work, and are not including the other professional workers, such as doctors, psychiatrists, lawyers, psychologists, and others, who are often associated with social workers in administering our public social services. Maintaining high professional standards for these groups has much in common with maintaining high professional standards among social workers but is not considered here.

In appointing this Committee the president of our Association asked us to consider two questions: first, how are we to secure qualified social workers for social-work positions in the public service; and, second, how are we to maintain high professional standards in public social service?

In its larger aspects the same problems that confront the members of this Association are met in all private social-work agencies. Any good executive of a private organization will say that his major responsibility is to secure a well-trained, competent staff and to keep it functioning on a high level of efficiency. The executive, public or private, usually sees this problem from two aspects—money and the available supply of competent, well-trained people. When he lacks money for adequate salaries he knows that is the source of his difficulties; when he has the money, he deplures the absence of really qualified people who are available for appointment. These together

¹ This paper was submitted in lieu of a committee report at the meeting of the American Association of Public Welfare Officials in Minneapolis. Miss Abbott, chairman of the Committee on Developing and Protecting Professional Standards in Public Welfare Work, was ill and unable to attend the meetings of the Association or the committees at Minneapolis but prepared this report, which was read in her absence.

are fundamental in the problem that confronts the executive of both public and private organizations. They raise the issue of our developing standards of professional education, of new methods of dealing with old or new problems, and of what should be done with faithful and once efficient staff members who find it impossible to measure up to new standards and new demands.

The executive who has not had these problems to meet is usually himself the explanation of why it is impossible to maintain high professional standards in the organization in which he holds the position of leadership. The movement for good professional standards begins with the executive. His appreciation of what constitutes adequate administration of a social-work policy determines the development of the work. How to secure a qualified administrative head for the public welfare services is then the first problem.

The board of a private social agency may be ignorant and even indifferent as to how the services that it has undertaken to sponsor are performed. It is not to be expected that such a board can be relied upon to choose a competent executive and support him in policies which will insure reasonable efficiency in his associates. This is the explanation of much of the inadequacy of our private social work. But the public social agency is under a special handicap in this connection. The lack of knowledge of the needs and character of the work to be done, on the part of the general public, of legislative bodies, of many chief executives, and of many boards exercising authority or general control over the work, is the first difficulty. As a result, the appointment of the executive frequently rests with a person or persons who think it a position that anyone who is honest and well intentioned and has had some experience in business or community organization is qualified to fill. Party regularity should not interfere with these standards, and that is the reason why political appointments seem so reasonable to the politician.

One of the first problems in securing qualified personnel is the protection of public social-work officials against what may be called personal or political appointments. In the former case the theory is that as the governor is to be held personally responsible for what is done in every department, he must appoint someone in whom he personally has confidence and trusts to act for him, and this is usually

interpreted to mean someone whose first loyalty is to the governor rather than to the job he has undertaken. Appointments are also made as payment for past political favors or to insure future ones. All of us know competent people who have been appointed in these ways, but at best the tenure of office of such appointees is usually so brief as to make substantial progress impossible.

It seems important, therefore, for this Association to take up as one of its most important problems the methods by which the appointment of trained executives for public welfare departments can be secured and their removal, because of politics, religion, or personal reasons, prevented. No system will guarantee that the executive who is chosen will be successful. A man or woman, qualified by any reasonable standards, may make a failure of a public position. On the other hand, if he is not qualified by any reasonable standard for the position, he will not be an adequate executive of a department of social welfare. The chances of success are all on the side of the qualified person. The problem is then how to set up the necessary qualifications and to secure the appointment of the best available person possessing these qualifications.

In this connection the Association should consider the merits of the movement for cabinet organization of state departments. In the reorganization programs of the past fifteen years several states have adopted this scheme of organization so that there is a factual basis for determining whether it has promoted or discouraged the development of professional standards in public social work. Certain expected advantages of this form of organization have materialized. In some states it has resulted in a better correlation of state activities, in better budgetary procedure, and has placed the work of the departments on a more dignified basis in the relationship with the governor.

But this theory of executive responsibility has meant a change in the heads of departments with every change of governors, even when there is no change of party, since the whole plan of organization is based on the theory that the heads of the state departments, including that of public welfare, are to be the personal representatives of the governor. In public welfare legislation political principles may be involved, but in the administration of a department of public wel-

fare the problems are technical ones, and real progress can be made only over a considerable period of years.

Suppose the governor appoints an honest, well-meaning man, or, much less frequently, a woman, as head of a department of public welfare who has had no experience in social-service administration. The appointment usually runs for a two-year or four-year period. The executive has only begun to get really familiar with the character of the work and the administrative problems involved when he gives up the office. If, on the other hand, the governor appoints a person who is qualified to assume state leadership in the field of public welfare, unless there has been gross mismanagement in the previous administration the term is too short to show results, especially in the preventive field of local organization which is now being stressed. In the first case, the public will not understand if in the ensuing election social workers attack the appointment of an unqualified person as the chief social-work executive. This good man who has worked hard, why should a voter register objection to him? On the other hand, the governor who appointed a trained and competent person to administer the social services of his state may be much disappointed to find he gets little public approval for his public-spirited action. That the person he has appointed is a qualified person is little understood by the general public, and the time is too short to allow him to demonstrate what he might do in such an office. These are not political questions to take to the voter. To the public they become political questions only when the persons appointed are worse than unqualified from a technical standpoint. In general, in the case of the technical heads of administrative bureaus and departments, the only political question for either the general public or the legislature is the general method by which such technical appointments are to be made.

Public social work is only one of the public services that suffers from personal or political rather than technical appointments. In the recent expansion of the constructive services that governments perform there has developed an increasing need of technically trained people in public office. The popular conception has been that any honest person with good common sense can fill any public office. We have all been brought up on that doctrine. So we find persons with

no knowledge of the problems involved in the supervision of public utilities appointed to public utility commissions, as well as to other boards or positions requiring special experience or technical training. Education of the public in the use of the specialist in public administration is in process but by no means complete.

Some progress has been made in the public welfare field. There is slow growth in public opinion that these officials should be social workers of executive experience and capacity for leadership who should not be removed except for cause. Such public opinion is essential to the successful functioning of a public welfare department, and this Association ought to be of assistance in promoting it. Methods of organization which might be helpful should be studied.

There is evidence of the protection afforded competent leadership by boards or by long terms of office given by statute to the director. A board which has the power to appoint the executive and lay down general policies with reference to the department, either a paid board as in Minnesota or unpaid as in New Jersey or New Mexico, provided the terms of a majority of the members do not expire during a single term of the governor, is recommended as a means of avoiding political appointments. It does not, however, always insure the appointment of competent people. The level of its appointments will be the board's appreciation of the technical character and requirements of the job. It will be remembered that it was to get rid of boards accustomed to inefficiency in department organization or indifference to the services the departments should perform that these boards were abolished in many states and the cabinet organization, which from this standpoint has proved less satisfactory, was substituted. If every such board had one or more leading social workers among its members, its usefulness would be greatly increased.

The appointment of executives for long terms as in Massachusetts indicates a legislative intent that the appointment shall be regarded as a technical one or at least as not a political or personal one, and this tradition seems well established in that state.

There is, finally, the system of appointment by examination—the so-called merit or civil service system. There is general agreement that the weight of evidence and informed opinion favors the civil

service system for all but the administrative head. In the writer's opinion it favors the latter also. In the United States Department of Agriculture the bureau chiefs are generally appointed by the secretary from a list supplied by the Civil Service Commission. The fact that the Department of Agriculture secured this method of appointment for its bureau executives has been a factor in reducing the practice of making new appointments with every change in administration in other departments in which bureau chiefs are appointed by the president. The tradition of continuing in office the heads of the scientific and some of the administrative bureaus now appointed by the president is by way of becoming so well established that there would be no revolutionary change if, in the future, vacancies in these positions were filled by appointment from a list of qualified individuals supplied by the Civil Service Commission. Why then should we bother to advocate such a change? For the very good reason that it would prevent an unexpected return to the old system of political appointment and would add to the dignity of the office.

One of the principal advantages of a civil service examination for important executive positions is that setting up standards of training and experience for admission to the examination educates the public as to the services which the person to be appointed should be qualified to direct. Moreover, it provides what is very important in the public service, a method of laying all the cards on the table so that it is made entirely clear that special fitness for the job is to be the sole test in the appointment. It is, of course, important that the examination should include an interview so that the elusive characteristic known as personality in addition to training and experience can be considered in making the appointment of important administrative officials.

In this connection it should be pointed out that the unofficial merit system has been and can be of great help in securing qualified personnel for positions not included under the civil service law, if the appointing officer, governor let us say or judge, will agree to appoint from a list secured by a committee of citizens, familiar with the needs and requirements of social work, through an examination conducted as one would be by a competent civil service commission. The great advantage of this method is that even if Governor A

would agree to appoint the same person without the examination, he would be Governor A's appointee, and why should Governor B continue Governor A's appointee when he intends or thinks or says he intends to appoint someone better? If an examination has been held the interested public can ask for the continuance of the system rather than merely continuing a particular individual in office, which is always difficult.

When we urge that an official or a specially organized unofficial civil service examination is the method which involves the fewest hazards in the selection of qualified public social workers, this does not mean that we can leave the maintenance of professional standards in public social work to the civil service commissions and public personnel institutes or commissions. The standards which they attempt to carry out should be the standards which this Association and the American Association of Social Workers set. Our method of approach to the problems will differ in certain fundamentals from the approach of a personnel department. In recent years job analysis as a method of determining the experience and training necessary for a particular position has been widely used. This method carries over into social service the efficiency methods developed in industrial organization. In these job analyses, what is being done and the qualifications of the people engaged in doing it have been studied and a classification has been fixed on that basis. That is, of course, all that the personnel expert is qualified to do. As social workers we would be interested in comparing what public social workers should be doing in order to meet the opportunity for service presented and what their training and experience should be to make possible this ideal.

There are many examples that might be given of the limitations of a civil service commission serving a social welfare organization or an organization requiring on its staff some social workers. For example, several years ago the United States Civil Service Commission was announcing college education, social-work education, or experience in a recognized agency or both as prerequisites for competing in an examination for research positions in the Children's Bureau, for the hospital social service and psychiatric social service in the Veteran's Bureau, while very different qualifications were fixed by the same

Commission for work requiring a skilled case-worker in the Indian Bureau. According to the report for which Lewis Meriam was responsible and which has formed the basis of many reforms made by the present commissioner, there were no educational qualifications fixed by the examination for these family welfare workers in the Indian Bureau until 1924. At that time the equivalent of an eighth-grade education was set up, and the applicants were required to list their experiences in "cooking, household sanitation, sewing, care of the sick, care and feeding of infants, home gardening and poultry raising and social work such as reform, settlement, slum, civic betterment or any similar line of work"! The Civil Service Commission was trying to give the Children's Bureau and the Veteran's Bureau and the Indian Bureau the kind of staff for which they were asking. It was, of course, impossible for the Civil Service Commission to reorganize the services of the Indian Bureau over the head of the executive of that Bureau. It was not until the executive of the Indian Bureau had a new conception of the service the government might render the Indian that more education and experience became really useful.

I have canvassed some examinations announced by a civil service commission in a service in which the employees had recently been "scientifically" classified by the method of job analysis. The training required for probation officers was high-school graduation but permitted certain substitutions even in place of this low educational standard; and the experience specified was one year of professional or volunteer service. In contrast, for a psychiatric social worker, evidence of graduation from college, special graduate study, and professional experience were required for admission to the examination. The salary of the latter was \$600 less than the former, and it should be added that the salaries of neither were fixed by statute but by a classification commission.

Another commission announced two examinations. There was the same beginning salary, \$1,800 a year and maintenance, and the same policy as to salary increases. One was for a parole officer for a state prison; the other for a placement officer of a state school for dependent children. Five years of experience of a character to demonstrate the applicant's fitness for the position was required for both. The

educational requirement set by this commission was college graduation with special training in the social sciences for the parole officer, while the equivalent of a high-school education was required for the placement agent of the state school and two years of additional education was recommended as desirable.

Imbedded in these announcements are some of the problems of our developing public social services which the chief executives of our departments of public welfare must assist in solving. If we are like the lawyers and doctors there will be some resistance in our own group to the substitution of new educational standards for social-work positions. Some of those of us who learned on the job are going to be loyal to our own type of training or lack of it; but I hope the majority, realizing that we are undertaking very difficult and delicate tasks, involving the welfare of individuals and of society as a whole, will say that the young public social worker should bring to these tasks all the training now available or that will be available. In this way and in this way only can the trial-and-error method be reduced to a minimum and expert professional service be made increasingly available.

We shall not secure improvements over night. All of us must deal with civil service commissions as they exist or with the hazardous system of personal or political appointment. We shall be limited by the present understanding and appreciation of the tasks we are undertaking to perform and by our developing educational and professional standards. One of the services which this Association can render is to keep its members, particularly those in executive positions, informed as to the standards being set for the federal and state public welfare positions either by official Civil Service Commission or by the unofficial commissions that have been used to conduct examination. An excellent example of this unofficial civil service is the method of selecting probation officers which has been used for many years in the Juvenile Court of Cook County (Chicago) and which has recently been extended to other social-work positions in Cook County not included under the official civil service. Such information will be of value in answering the objections of our superiors and of civil service commissions to high educational and experience requirements. The United States Civil Service Commission is

prepared to assist the Association in such a plan by assembling examinations announced by state and municipal commissions.

There is no question that the politician is not interested in the general subject of civil service reform. I wish we could coin a new word that would enable us to slough off all the enemies which poorly drafted and badly administered civil service laws have made for the cause. The movement has a history of real achievement behind it, but it has also, in some places, a history of general incompetence or of rigid indifference to changing conditions and, in others, of subservience to political ends. We can expect little public interest in the detailed problems involved in public welfare administration. We must have a flexible system which can be changed to meet changing conditions requiring new types of services and meet them with advancing standards of education and training, without new legislation being necessary.

It ought to be possible to teach the general public that public social-work positions should be filled by social workers just as a bureau of chemistry should employ chemists for its professional positions. The only geographically general definition of a social worker is found in the requirements for admission to the American Association of Social Workers. If that Association would promote the idea that no one who is not a member of the Association, or at least eligible to membership, should be appointed to a public social-work position, whether by civil service examination, by a board or a governor or a head of a department of public welfare, it can do much to promote professional standards in our public social services. This would not exclude the older group who have learned on the job, but would require for the young people now entering the work the new standards of professional education that will mean a minimum of experimenting with the lives of children and the other more or less helpless individuals who are intrusted to the care of public social workers. Adoption of this minimum standard for all social-work positions would leave open the additional special qualifications in experience and training for individual positions. But if we start from the base of a social worker for all social-work positions this should not be difficult.

There is no time to discuss the question of what may be done to

keep those staff members who are properly qualified persons at the time of their appointment up to a reasonable maximum of efficiency in performance. I have time only to summarize what I believe the future work of this Committee should be. It may be said to fall in three general lines: (1) The Association should assemble information as to the qualifications required for federal, state, and local social service workers, and as to methods now being used by both public and private organizations to keep a staff efficient or to improve its efficiency; (2) this Association should co-operate with civil service commissions, with the American Association of Social Workers, and with others interested in providing technically qualified persons for public social-work positions; and (3) we should make a full, frank, and critical examination of our own shortcomings in our effort or lack of effort to secure high professional standards for public social workers. After we have educated ourselves as to what is being done now and what might be done in the future, we shall be in a position to ask for public co-operation in insuring that the millions now being spent in public social service are well spent.

GRACE ABBOTT

U.S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU
WASHINGTON, D.C.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE¹ ON UNIFORM SETTLEMENT LAWS AND THE TRANS- FER OF DEPENDENTS

THE Committee on Uniform Settlement Laws and the Transfer of Dependents, since its appointment in September, 1930, has made a careful study of the question of settlement laws and interstate relations in the care of dependents.

The committee, through its chairman, has corresponded with the public welfare officials of a majority of the states, and the replies received have been most encouraging. The Committee wishes to express in this report its appreciation of the co-operation already received.

The subject of uniform settlement laws has been repeatedly discussed at sessions of the National Conference of Social Work, and many studies have been made. Nevertheless, efforts for uniform settlement laws, though organized repeatedly during the past forty years by public welfare officials and others, have so far accomplished very little. The socially damaging disparities, as set forth very fully by Charlotte C. Donnell, in the *Social Service Review* for September, 1930, seem almost as great as ever.

This matter was also presented to the Committee on Scope and Program of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws last year, and the committee recommended that the conference should not undertake the drafting of a uniform settlement law because it seemed to the committee that these matters are handled so differently in the different states that it is hopeless to expect to secure the enactment of a uniform law.

According to a recent survey made by the Federal Children's Bureau, compiled as of April, 1930, "30 states have by statute

¹ Members of the committee: Frank W. Goodhue, director, Division of Aid and Relief, State Public Welfare Department, Boston, Mass., *chairman*; Professor J. L. Gillin, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin; Fred S. Hall, editor, *Social Yearbook*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City; Marietta Stevenson, U.S. Children's Bureau, Washington, D.C.; Professor Philip A. Parsons, Dean, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.

prescribed, with considerable variation, the duration of residence necessary to entitle a person to poor relief from the public of the political subdivision of the state or county wherein he resides." The duration of residence required in excess of 1 year is 10 years in Rhode Island; 7 years in New Hampshire; 5 years in Maine, Massachusetts, and New Jersey; 4 years in Connecticut (or 1 year by vote of inhabitants or consent of justice of the peace or selectmen for person from another state); and 3 years in South Carolina and Vermont.

Residence of 1 year is required in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin, California, South Dakota, North Dakota, Texas, Utah, and Delaware; in addition there are varying requirements as to residence in the counties.

Residence ranging from 30 days to 6 months is required in Alabama, Kansas, Mississippi, Nevada, Oklahoma, Washington, Oregon, Wyoming, Montana, Colorado, and Nebraska.

There are also, of course, varied restrictive provisions imposed in addition to the residence requirements; also, 19 states have laws prescribing the period of absence for loss of settlement.

In general, the period of time for loss of a settlement conforms to the period of time for gaining a settlement. In view of the fact that 20 of the 30 states enumerated have a residence requirement of 1 year for the gaining of a legal settlement, it seems logical to believe that further effort to secure a uniform-settlement law would tend toward a 1-year basis.

Considering the subject of settlement law, however, in relation to the interchange of dependents, the committee has come to the conclusion that its effort should be directed toward securing uniform laws regarding the relief of dependents. In support of this contention, the committee offers the argument that even if it were possible to obtain acceptance of a uniform-settlement law in all the states, this accomplishment would be valueless if a state has no legal provision for the granting of outdoor relief or aid to an unsettled person or a person who has been absent from the state. For example, the following replies were received in answer to a questionnaire sent out by the committee:

"The state does not furnish assistance in the homes for dependent families."

"There is no provision for public outdoor relief, excepting in cases eligible under the mothers' pension act."

"There is no law authorizing assistance to dependent families. Counties may carry a family on their pauper's roll; or mother's aid, as it now is, may give aid to a woman who is a widow by death and has lived in the state five years. This law is not mandatory on the county."

The new basis of effort, as suggested, includes the most important element of welfare of the dependent person or family, an element which has received scant if any consideration in efforts for securing uniform-settlement laws.

The transfer of dependents has always been one of the most difficult problems with which the public welfare official has had to contend. Such progress as has been made has been largely due to the splendid work of the Committee on Transportation of the Allied National Agencies. The so-called "passing on" of dependents has been very much reduced since this committee began to function. The public authorities of many states, however, are not signatories to this committee agreement of interchange; and serious differences of opinion have arisen, even during the past year, involving court action and the arrest of public officials because of laws which make it a crime to bring a dependent person into the state.

In this age of arbitration it is the opinion of the committee that many of the archaic laws of the states should be either amended or repealed and the state authorities should be authorized, instead, to negotiate agreements of interchange which will be humane as well as equitable for each state.

During the last decade the more progressive states have made marked improvement in their welfare standards, and there is every indication that continued effort will be made. The committee believes, therefore, that the stand should be taken that the welfare of the dependent is of greater importance than the economic issue.

Proposals for a federal settlement law, or for federal regulation of interstate practices in connection with the problem, have been frequently made. Even if these were desirable—a point which your committee has not considered—they do not seem to be possible. No convincing evidence has been offered indicating that effective federal

legislation could be enacted without an amendment to the federal Constitution.

In view of the terms of the Mann Act and the United States Supreme Court decision concerning it in the Caminetti case, the transportation of dependents might conceivably be regulated under the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution, but Congress apparently possesses no power to compel a state to grant relief under circumstances which it may specify. Without that power federal regulation could accomplish little.

The committee is of the opinion that much progress can be made if settlement laws are considered as applying only to the relations within the boundaries of each state, between towns, counties, and the state itself, and if a reasonable period of residence and absence for all states is established by interstate agreement as a basis of interstate relations.

In reaching this conclusion the committee was influenced by the one encouraging experience in the field of exchange, the relations now existing between public officials who are responsible for the institutional care of mentally diseased and defective persons. These officials, acting under special laws rather than under the general poor laws, have agreed to certain standards of action in interstate matters with relation to this particular class of clients. A conference attended by such officials from sixteen states was held in Chicago, October 27, 1930, and it was voted that "The agreement now used between the State of New York and the State of Massachusetts be accepted as a basis of this conference, with the modifications that will conform with the laws of each State." As an illustration of the extent to which the relationships of this group have developed, it is submitted that Massachusetts has reciprocal agreements with eleven states and understandings with twelve other states. The arrangement has been so generally satisfactory it is made the basis of the recommendations of this committee.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That for interstate relations, settlement as a basis of transfer or relief should be set aside and decisions in individual cases be based instead on the welfare of the clients and the proper responsibility of the states concerned, as determined by an agreement entered into by signatory states. This agreement

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should cover (a) general principles, (b) procedure to be followed in individual cases, and (c) machinery for arbitrating disputed points.

2. That under "general principles" there should be included a proviso that transfers should not be made if the cause of dependency is temporary, unless it can be proven that the dependent is an undesirable person, or liable to become a permanent public charge, or will need public assistance for a very long period.

3. That expenses of transfer should be borne by the authorities of the state making the transfer.

4. That states be urged to give authority by law to their state public welfare officials to enter into such an agreement.

5. That local public welfare officials be forbidden by law to send dependents to other states without the approval of the proper state officials of their own state.

6. That each state be urged to enact a law accepting responsibility for the care of clients received from other states, provided the public-welfare agency of the receiving state shall have given its approval in each case or shall have accepted general responsibility under an agreement with any other state.

7. That the Commission on Uniform State Laws be asked to recommend a uniform law or laws embodying the legislative enactments herein suggested.

8. That a start on this program be made through agreement by such state officials as already have the needed legal authority, the number of co-operating states being extended as fast as it is practicable.

9. That the membership of this committee be increased from five to seven.

10. That the association accept the invitation to join the Transportation Committee of Allied National Agencies as a contributing organization and that a member of the association be appointed as representative.

In view of the broader scope of work which your committee has found it necessary to undertake, we recommend that the committee's name be changed from Committee on Uniform Settlement Laws and the Transfer of Dependents to Committee on Interstate Relations in the Care of Dependents.

FRANK W. GOODHUE, *Chairman*

DIVISION OF AID AND RELIEF, STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE
BOSTON, MASS.

GOVERNMENT PROVISION FOR SOCIAL WORK STATISTICS ON A NATIONAL SCALE¹

AS VIEWED BY THE PUBLIC WELFARE OFFICIALS

PLACE OF STATISTICS IN DEVELOPMENT OF
SOCIAL WELFARE WORK

STATE leadership in social welfare "can be sound and progressive only if based on adequate data, regularly collected from the local jurisdictions and from all institutions and agencies, intelligently analyzed and utilized as the source from which constructive suggestions can be drawn." These words of the Committee on National, State, and Local Organizations of the 1930 White House Conference on Child Health and Protection may well be pondered in view of the fact that public welfare functions are becoming increasingly important in present-day government.

Attention need not be called to the fact that hundreds of thousands of persons are touched either directly or indirectly by public and private social welfare activities in the United States, that an administrative organization employing a large corps of workers is functioning to carry out our manifold social work activities, and that the total annual social welfare budget in the United States easily runs into the hundreds of millions of dollars.

If the importance of public welfare work needs further attesting we may point out that recommendations affecting social welfare and child welfare were contained in the messages of the incoming and outgoing governors in the majority of the forty-two states that began their regular legislative sessions in January, 1931.²

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE FINDINGS ON SOCIAL STATISTICS

Views concerning both the importance of social statistics and the existing status of statistical methods are reflected in the various re-

¹ This article is based upon material presented to the Joint Session of Division VIII, Organization of Social Forces, and Division IX, Public Officials and Administration, and the Mothers' Aid Group, National Conference of Social Work, June 20, 1931, Minneapolis, and to the annual meeting of the American Association of Public Welfare Officials.

² *Child Welfare News Summary*, United States Children's Bureau, April 4, 1931, Vol. XIII, No. 8.

ports of the 1930 White House Conference on Child Health and Protection: "Until there are statistics concerning the character and volume of dependency, delinquency, and neglect comparable to the data now available on morbidity and mortality, the nation's work for children will be sorely handicapped," declares the Committee on National, State, and Local Organizations for the Handicapped.

The Committee on Dependency and Neglect reports that "after many years of trying various methods of dealing with child dependency, after caring for unknown thousands of children, and spending unknown millions of dollars, we now have only a few facts and guesses as to what has been accomplished or whither we are tending."

The Committee on the Physically and Mentally Handicapped declared that the extent of the problem with respect to the number of physically or mentally handicapped children who require specialized services for social and economic adjustment is not definitely known, and that data available are fragmentary, isolated, and not generally reliable.

The Committee on Delinquency found "that there exists no accurate statement as to the amount of delinquency in this country, nor whether it is increasing or decreasing."

STATUS OF PRESENT-DAY SOCIAL WORK STATISTICS

In spite of the generally recognized need for the factual basis for social work planning it would seem that "in many states, even the most essential and simple facts cannot be gathered successfully from institutions and agencies because they lack the primary records by which such information can be made available" and that "there is little real recognition of the value and province of social statistics."

"Few state departments of welfare have made any adequate use of the social data that they have collected. Here and there may be found a compilation of the facts obtained from different social work organizations included in the department's reporting system, but more often there is little or no attempt at an analysis of the social or administrative implications of the facts presented."¹

¹ In the preparation of this article the author has freely drawn upon the published reports of the four committees of Section IV—The Handicapped—and upon unpub-

LACK OF UNIFORMITY DEPLORED

The lack of standardization of social work statistics is generally deplored. As one White House Conference Committee observes "no uniform type of statistics is secured, and no common method of gathering them is used. What one state department of welfare thinks necessary and practicable in the way of reports from agencies under supervision is considered totally unnecessary and impracticable in another."

This may be illustrated by a recent study made by the New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies of the statistical contents of annual reports of twenty-eight of the larger institutions for juvenile delinquents scattered all over the United States, which showed "that in no two could the data recorded be easily compared, nor would it be possible to combine readily the figures for any two institutions."¹

RECOGNITION OF NEED FOR WELFARE STATISTICS

The need for standardized and uniform statistics has been constantly recognized by the public welfare official, and a number of plans for securing them have been drawn up in the course of the last sixty years. The first conference of boards of public charities, held in 1874, expressed itself strongly in favor of "uniformity of statistical reports," and thought that the reports of the various state authorities should be designed "so as to present an aggregate by means of which the condition of one state can be closely compared with that of another." The schedules of inquiry then suggested presented the groundwork for a very thorough study of the extent and cost of dependency, delinquency, and mental deficiency and of the causes of social disorders.

Committees of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections (the precursor of the present National Conference of Social Work), charged with the duty of developing social statistics, have

lished reports of the Joint Committee on Statistics of Section IV—The Handicapped—and of the Sub-Committee on Educational Publicity for Promoting Social Work Programs of Section IV-A—National, State, and Local Organizations for the Handicapped.

¹ "Statistics for Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents," *Social Service Review*, IV (1930), 563-74.

been appointed from time to time and their work seems to have met with varying success.

WORK OF NATIONAL AGENCIES

In considering the achievements in the standardization of social statistics on a national scale, it will be found that various special committees of scientific societies and national welfare organizations have made substantial contributions.

In the mental hygiene field the Committee on Institutional Statistics of the American Statistical Association, together with committees on statistics of the American Psychiatric Association, the American Association for the Study of the Feeble-minded, and the National Association for the Study of Epilepsy, in co-operation with the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, has developed nation-wide statistical systems to gather data concerning persons presenting mental problems.

Quite a few national agencies have included the development of good records and statistics in their programs. Mention is made of only a few of these agencies. In the family and child welfare field: Russell Sage Foundation, Child Welfare League of America, Family Welfare Association of America, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Association of Community Chests and Councils, American Red Cross, National Federation of Settlements, National Federation of Day Nurseries, National Association of Travelers Aid Societies, and National Association of Legal Aid Societies.

In health endeavors: American Public Health Association, American Child Health Organization, National Organization for Public Health Nursing, National Tuberculosis Association, American Association of Hospital Social Workers, American Hospital Association, and American Social Hygiene Association.

In the field of the handicapped: International Society for Crippled Children, American Foundation for the Blind, National Society for the Prevention of Blindness, American Federation of Organizations for the Hard of Hearing. In the delinquency field: National Probation Association and International Association of Chiefs of Police.

Research organizations such as the Institute for Social and Re-

ligious Research, National Institute for Public Administration, National Bureau of Economic Research, National Bureau of Jewish Social Research, Research Committee on Social Trends, and Institute for Human Relations at Yale University. Finally, a number of foundations including the Milbank Memorial Fund, Commonwealth Fund, Wieboldt Foundation, and Troustine Foundation.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
CONFERENCE

As a step in developing more complete and comparable statistical reporting on the part of those engaged in public welfare work, the National Institute of Public Administration sponsored a conference on public welfare in government in 1927. Following the conference, the Committee on Institutional Statistics of the American Statistical Association, under the chairmanship of Dr. Horatio M. Pollock, drew up a plan for a study which would determine what facts regarding welfare institutions and agencies are commonly regarded as essential for social and for administrative purposes, and which would examine state laws in their application to records, reports, and statistics of all welfare services, public and private.

UNITED STATES CHILDREN'S BUREAU CONFERENCE

Minimum statistics that should be obtained by state departments from child-caring agencies and institutions was one of the topics of discussion at the Conference of State Departments concerned with child welfare held under the auspices of the United States Children's Bureau, in 1929.

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE ON
SOCIAL STATISTICS

A Joint Committee on Statistics representing the four Committees of Section IV, The Handicapped, of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection was appointed, having as its primary purpose the drawing up of a practicable program for the development of child welfare statistics for the United States, and the steps toward putting such a program into operation. A report is now being prepared by Dr. Hurlin and Miss Lenroot, to be supplemented by

the results of an experimental census made by Miss Lundberg of dependent and neglected children under the care or supervision of institutions and agencies in the United States.

COMMITTEES ON SOCIAL WORK STATISTICS

There are a number of committees now at work, all concerned with the development of social work statistics. To record only a few: Committee on Social Statistics of the Social Science Research Council; Committee on Institutional Statistics, Committee on Statistics of Dependency and Child Welfare, and Census Tract Committee, all of the American Statistical Association; Committee on Criminal Records and Statistics of the American Institute of Law and Criminology; Committee on Statistics of the National Conference of Juvenile Agencies; and Committee on Statistics of the American Prison Association.

The recently organized American Association of Public Welfare Officials appointed a Committee on Reports and Statistics which was to study the most approved methods of gathering and compiling those uniform and comparable social statistics considered essential in carrying out a comprehensive public welfare program. It was also to consider how a system for gathering social statistics could be developed on a national scale through the co-operation of federal, state, and local governments.

The creation of the Committee on Reports and Statistics thus was a definite recognition of the importance of reliable statistical data in the development of public welfare programs, and of the need for a study of the existing situation with respect to the statistical work as it is carried on by public welfare departments.

MINIMUM SOCIAL WORK STATISTICS

As much as we might wish to create immediately the statistical instruments which should enable us to chart the course as well as measure the effects of our social work endeavors, it is likely that the public welfare official will for the moment have to be satisfied with less ambitious statistical endeavors.

We may well agree with Hurlin, who points out that "the primary need for statistics in social work is for simple but comparable data

for each field concerning the number of persons served, their significant characteristics, and the cost of service in terms of money and persons employed" having due regard to continuity of and comparability within the record.¹

Such statistics, simple as they might seem, would well serve the immediate purposes of the social work agency and form the basis for the establishment of social indexes showing "the size and distribution of the problems dealt with at given times and also their fluctuations and trends over long periods."²

There seems to be general agreement as to the underlying principles which must apply in securing uniform social work statistics. These might be summarized as follows:

1. An individual record to contain detailed information regarding individuals or families dealt with by the social work agency. The state department of welfare, in designating particular statistical items, to include those points nationally agreed upon as being essential in studying the problem. The forms to be distributed by the state department of welfare to the individual agency.

2. Statistical tables of nationally standardized form (for tabulating the information contained in the individual record of the social work agency) to be furnished by the state department of welfare to the local agency. The compiled statistics, not only to meet the vital purposes of the social work agency itself, but to be usable, without further adaptation, in current and annual reports to the agency's board of managers, to the local council of social agencies, community chest or welfare federation, to the local public welfare department and to the state welfare department.

3. The state department of welfare to compile its statistics from the standardized reports submitted by the agencies under its supervision in accordance with the national plan, thus facilitating comparison of like agencies within and without the state, permitting the figures of like agencies to be combined for the state as a whole,

¹ "Statistics of Social Work," *Social Work Year Book*, 1929.

² For a stimulating discussion regarding the nature of the problems that are encountered when the methods of statistics are applied to social and sociological studies see *Statistics in Social Studies*, a series of papers assembled by the Committee on Social Statistics of the American Statistical Association and edited by Stuart A. Rice, University of Pennsylvania.

allowing the figures of related agencies to be joined to show the interrelationship of social work efforts, and finally to make available to a federal agency the data upon which a national picture of social work and social work problems may be constructed.

4. The statistics published in reports of the state department of welfare to be presented in such an interesting way and to be accompanied by such textual interpretation as to stimulate the individual agency to comparison and self-analysis, for an evaluation of the social conditions of one community as against another.

5. The state department of welfare to educate the individual institution and agency regarding the importance of securing and recording social work data and the uses to which it may be put in carrying on the work of the organization, in planning the work of the individual institution and agency in relation to the social welfare work of the state as a whole.

OUTLOOK FOR STANDARD SOCIAL WORK STATISTICS FAVORABLE

It has been pointed out that an essential part of the program of developing adequate statistical data for social welfare planning must be the work of standardization of social work statistics. Recent efforts made in that direction have demonstrated that the task of standardizing social work statistics on a national scale should not prove insuperable.

In this connection may be cited the results of an exceedingly important nation-wide experimental census of dependent and neglected children in the care of institutions and agencies, made by Miss Emma O. Lundberg for the 1930 White House Conference.¹ Miss Lundberg obtained, from states representing almost 80 per cent of the population of the United States, statistical data sufficiently comparable to compile the number of dependent and neglected children under care, classified according to type of organization and auspices under which conducted and according to types of care rendered.

Moreover, state departments of welfare are constantly broadening

¹ Study made jointly for Section IV-A, National, State, and Local Organizations for the Handicapped and the Joint Committee on Statistics of Section IV, The Handicapped.

their perspective with regard to the value of social statistics and are liberally interpreting their duties under the law for the collection and publication of records and statistics.

RESPONSIBILITY OF STATE WELFARE DEPARTMENT

The public welfare official feels that the key to the development of comprehensive social work statistics in the United States lies in the hands of state departments of welfare. Five reasons may be advanced:

1. In most states the department of welfare is legally authorized to require that reports and statistics be kept and furnished currently by public and private social work organizations.

2. Because of legal supervisory powers the state department of welfare has close relations with the work of state-owned institutions and agencies as well as with the work of local public and private social work institutions and agencies throughout the state.

3. Local public and private social service agencies look to the state department of welfare for leadership in social welfare matters.

4. The state department of welfare has the outlook and the resources to stimulate uniform record-keeping and statistics on a state-wide basis.

5. The state department of welfare is the logical unit through which agreements regarding standardized social work statistics may be reached with other states, acting through the medium of a federal agency.

RECORD-KEEPING OF INDIVIDUAL INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES

The experience of the public welfare official would seem to show that standardization of social work statistics on either a state-wide or nation-wide scale will not be accomplished by fiat nor will it be achieved in a day. It must be a living process, utilizing the best work that has already been done in the field, a counseling together of all those concerned in the administration and program-making of social work organizations. Above all, the individual institutions and agencies, large or small, must be convinced of the value of good records and statistics, must not regard them as unnecessary red tape, but come to look upon them as effective tools in accomplishing their daily tasks.

FEDERAL SOCIAL WORK STATISTICS CLEARING HOUSE NEEDED

It is the belief of the public welfare official that the state department of welfare in its desire to improve its record-keeping and statistical work generally to bring it in line with nationally approved standards must needs look to the federal government.

A certain amount of nation-wide standardization of social work statistics has been going forward in connection with the periodic censuses made by the United States Bureau of the Census and recently through its annual collection of institutional statistics. Through the enactment of a law, authorizing the director of the census "to compile and publish annually statistics relating to crime and to the defective, dependent, and delinquent classes," by the Congress just adjourned, this particular phase of the work will be still further advanced. We may well accept the statement made by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene that "the importance of the data collected by the Census Bureau in these fields can scarcely be estimated. They not only provide facts with regard to our institutional population but, taken over a period of years, they indicate trends and form the basis for estimates for future institutional needs."

It would seem to the public welfare official that, supplementary to the important work carried on by the United States Bureau of the Census, the services of an additional federal agency might be required effectively to integrate the statistical work of the various state departments of welfare. The task of this federal agency would be to assume the leadership in devising, on a national scale, standardized statistical systems containing the minimum amount of social data required for an interpretation of particular phases of social endeavors, for an understanding of underlying social work problems and their relation to other phenomena of our social life.

Because of the demonstrated effectiveness of its work in social statistics it would seem advisable to the public welfare official to ask the Federal Children's Bureau to enlarge its services so as to be able to function as a national clearing-house on social statistics. The groundwork for such a service was laid by the United States Children's Bureau when it took over the project in the registration of social statistics inaugurated by the University of Chicago by a

Joint Committee of the Association of Community Chests and Councils and the Local Community Research Committee of the University.

With the acceptance, by the Federal Children's Bureau, of the responsibility for the establishment of a national planning board in social work statistics, it will readily find ways and means to co-ordinate the federal statistical services now being rendered in the social work field by its own bureau, the United States Bureau of the Census, the United States Department of Justice, the Office of Education of the United States Department of the Interior, the Public Health Service, and the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor.

The Federal Children's Bureau likewise will find ways and means of securing agreement among the different state welfare departments regarding standard record forms and uniform statistical procedures.

The importance of a co-ordinated national service for social statistics is fully realized by the public welfare official. He feels that such a service would weld together tellingly the enormous amount of social data growing out of the recording of our manifold efforts toward social amelioration and reconstruction, and would furnish a sound basis for the advancement of programs of prevention.

EMIL FRANKEL

NEW JERSEY DEPARTMENT OF INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES
TRENTON

COMPULSORY AND FREE EDUCATION FOR APPRENTICES AND POOR CHILDREN IN COLONIAL NEW ENGLAND

COMPULSORY education in the home, by parents or others, or by masters through the system of apprenticeship, with appropriate penalties for neglect, preceded by two centuries the modern idea of compelling pupils to attend organized schools for free education at public expense. This system, as developed in New England, was of great importance for three classes of children: for apprentices, for those "put out" to service for their maintenance only by selectmen or overseers of the poor, and for the children of illiterate parents or those too poor to pay tuition fees commonly exacted in many town schools in the seventeenth and even in the eighteenth century. In this last case the law virtually forced towns to pay the cost of educating poor children.

The educational legislation of the New England colonies was of two general types. There were laws, like that of Massachusetts (1647), which made the establishment of schools compulsory for all towns of a certain population; viz., in the case of elementary education, for towns of fifty householders; those having a population of about two hundred and fifty people. It should be understood that this law and other similar laws provided only for schools. It did not compel parents or others to send a child to school. Not a clause is found in a single educational act of any New England colony up to the Revolution which made attendance at school compulsory.

Paralleling this legislation on schools there were acts requiring parents, masters, or others to see that children should have the ability to read. The author has analyzed the legislation of New England in another place.¹ Such laws however varied considerably with respect to the length of time they were in operation and the class of children involved. In Massachusetts education was compulsory for

¹ This article is from a forthcoming book by the author entitled *Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America, 1607-1783: With Special Reference to the Economic, Educational, and Social Significance of Slaves, Servants, Apprentices, and Poor Folks*

all children to 1695 and after that only for certain classes of poor children bound out. In Connecticut a general law was in operation throughout the colonial period. This study is intended to show how these laws worked in practice; what efforts various officers, parents or masters, towns and county courts, made to enforce the law in question. The relation of the system of compulsory schools to that of compulsory education is also considered.

The germ of a system of education through agencies other than organized schools is found in English laws and practice, particularly from about the middle of the sixteenth century. The English Statute of Apprentices of 1563 and the Poor Law Act of 1601 provided, the former, for industrial or trade education, and the latter, for the maintenance of poor children through the system of apprenticeship or by "binding out." The indenture or contract between the master and the apprentice or the master and the overseers of the poor sets forth the duties and obligations of each party. In general the master agreed to teach the apprentice a trade and support him for a period of years in return for his labor. In binding out a poor child for maintenance the master need provide only support, unless otherwise specified in the indenture. The purpose of the first act was to provide skilled workers and that of the second to help solve the problem of pauperism. In both cases the indenture of apprenticeship was publicly recorded by town authorities, and if either master or apprentice violated his agreement an appeal could be made to a justice of the peace.¹ While neither the Statute of Apprentices nor the Poor Law Act provided that masters were under any obligation to teach the rudiments of education, the use of the system of apprenticeship as a means of education was not unknown, since indentures have survived that contain an educational clause. One for Leicester reads: "A glover, for 20s., agrees to take an orphan boy and keep him as his own child, without further cost to the town, till he is of years of

("Social Service Monographs," No. 17. Chicago: University of Chicago Press). For an analysis of the legislation mentioned see the *School Review*, XXVI (December, 1918), 731-49; *ibid.*, XXVII (January, 1919), 24-43. For the English background see O. J. Dunlop and R. D. Denman, *English Apprenticeship and Child Labour* (London, 1912).

¹ See A. F. Leach (ed.), *Beverly Town Documents* (London: Selden Society, 1900), for examples.

discretion and then take him as an apprentice, or keep him at school as well as if he were his own child, if he will take learning."¹

It is also true that no English law provided for three types of education, as did that of Massachusetts in 1642; namely, industrial training, ability to read, and religious education (catechizing). The act complains of "the great neglect in many parents and masters in training up their children in learning and labor and other employments which may be profitable to the Commonwealth . . . especially of their ability to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital lawes of the country." The penalty on such parents was the loss of their children—"to put forth apprentice the children of such as shall not be able and fitt to employ and bring them up." As education was sometimes provided for in English indentures, so there are examples of compulsory religious training by town ordinance. Interestingly enough, this same town, Leicester, provides an example.

FOR CHILDREN: Also it was then (anno Eliz. XXII^o) further agreed that every childe from the age of viii yeres upwards shalbe toughte the Lords Prayer, the Articles of there beleefe, and also to answere to certen poynts of the Catechisme, upon a peynaltie to the parents and masters, of everyone to the contrarye, beinge no nedyates,* as followeth:—viz. the XXXIIIIth xii^d., the XLVIIIth vi^d—and other commonners iii^d. a pece, or iii dayes ymprisonment at Mr. Mayors pleyasure. And to begyn att Christomas next comynge.²

* viz: idiots.

The imposition of a penalty upon those who failed to give their children religious instruction is of great interest, as it is in principle one of the important ideas back of the Massachusetts law of 1642. It does not appear, however, that in the foregoing case children were to be taught to read but rather to repeat from memory the subject matter mentioned. The colonists, then, inherited the idea of binding out children for the purpose of industrial education; that of including in indentures a clause providing for the rudiments of education, that of publicly recording indentures and enforcing them through court action, and that of imposing penalties on parents and masters for neglect of duty.

¹ *Records of the Borough of Leicester*, ed. Mary Bateson, III, 197: February 8, 1584.

² *Ibid.*, p. 183: September 21, 1580. For analysis of the act of 1642 see references in n. 1, p. 411.

Before the passage of this first Massachusetts act there are examples of the practice of including an educational clause in an indenture of apprenticeship. Thus Thomas Lechford, a lawyer in Boston, records in his notebook the substance of an indenture of date 1639 to this effect: "Dermondt Matthew did bind Teg Mathew his sonne a child of 9 yeares old apprentice to the Said George Strange for ten yeares from the said 9th day of May [1639] with Covenant to keepe him two yeares at School."¹ Similarly, in New Haven in the same year Charles Higginson was apprenticed to Thomas Fugill, "and to keepe him att schoole one yeare, or else to advantage him as much in his education as a yeares learning comes to."² In the first case because Strange refused to show the indenture to the father of the boy, the former requested the court that "they [the indentures] may be recorded." In the second case Higginson's indenture was recorded in the *New Haven Colony Records*.

The examples given show the process of the transfer of institutions and ideas from the Old to the New World. But besides the reproduction of current practices the colonial assemblies often modified old or invented, so to speak, new social institutions and practices. A most significant contribution was made by Massachusetts, when by the act of 1642 the idea of industrial and religious education was combined with that of providing for the rudiments of education by making all three compulsory with provision for penalties to be imposed on those responsible for neglect.

The responsibility for the enforcement of the various laws providing for the education of children through parents or masters of apprentices or through those to whom poor children were "bound out," fell for the most part on the selectmen and overseers of the poor of the various towns and on the county courts, though some other officials were involved, such as constables, tithingmen and

¹ *Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society*, VII (1885), 251 (*Thomas Lechford's Note Book*, June 27, 1638—July 29, 1641).

² *Records of the Colony of New Haven*, I, 30. Cf. Boston vote in town meeting (1660): "All Indentures made between any master and servant shall bee brought in and enrolled in the Towne's Records within one month after the contract made" (*Boston Town Records*, II, 157). In 1672 parents were ordered to make return of the names of masters and children put out to service "with their Indenture to the Selectmen at their nexte monthly Meeting" (*ibid.*, VII, 67).

grand jurors. The indentures or agreements were recorded both in town and county-court records where also are found examples of the methods of enforcing the laws.

A common practice was that of apprenticing a child for the purpose of teaching him a particular trade and also of instructing him in reading and religion. Watertown, Massachusetts, voted (1656):

These are to show, that Elizabeth Brailbrook widow of Watertown, hath put her daughter (with the consent of the selectmen) into the hands of Simont Tomson & his wife of Ipswich ropemaker to be as an apprentice, untill she comes to the age of eighteen years, in which time the said Sarah is to serve them in all lawful Comands, and the said Simont is to teach her to reade the English Tongue, and to instruct her in the knowledge of God and his Ways.¹

¹ *Watertown Records*, I, 47. A typical complete indenture reads as follows: "This indenture witnesseth that Jonathan Stoughton, son of Thomas Stoughton of Windsor in the county of hartford and Coloney of Connecticut in new england, with his father's consent hath put him selfe an apprentice to Nathan day of the aboue said windsor county and coloney: blacksmith and white smith to Learn his art, trade or mystery after the manner of an Apprentice to serve him until the said Jonathan Stoughton attains the age of twenty-one years, during all which time the said apprentice his master faithfully shall serve, his secrets keep, his Lawful commands gladly obaye he shall not do any damage to his said master nor see it don by others without giving notice thereof to his said master. He shall not waste his said master's goods or Lend them unLawfully to aney, he shall not commit fornication nor contract matrimony within the said terme. at cards, dice or any other unlawfull game he shall not play whereby his said master may suffer damage. he shall not absent himself day or night from his master's service without his leave. nor haunt ale houses, Taverns or playhouses butt in all things behave himselfe as a faithfull apprentice ought to do during the said terme, and the said master shall do his utmost to teach and Instruct the said apprentice in the above mentioned blacksmith and white smiths trade and mistery and to teach or caus the said apprentice to be Taught the art of Arithmatick to such a degree that he may be able to keep a book well, and provide for him meat, drink, apparel, washing and lodging and phisick in sickness and health suitable for such an apprentice during the said terms, and att the end of said terme the said master shall furnish the said apprentice with two good new suits of apparel boath wooling and lining for all parts of his body suitable for such an apprentice beside that apparel he carrieth with him and for the performance of all and every the said covenants and agreement either of the said parties bind themselves unto the other by these presents in witness whereof they have interchangeably put their hands and seals this first day of September in the year of our Lord god, 1727.

"And I the said Daniel Cook do promise and Ingage for myself my Executors and administrators to Learn and Instruct my said Apprentis William Potter In the trade mistry or art of a Joyner in the best manner that I Can within the said term, and also Instruct him in the trade of a House Carpenter as I have oppertunity; and not put him to any other servis dureing the said term without his Consent; and also Learn or Cause him to be Learned or taught to Reade English and wright and Cypher so far as to keepe

In this case the cost of education was borne by the master. There are other cases, however, where the town bore a part of the cost. For example, the selectmen of Dorchester, Massachusetts, made the following agreement (1651):

It is agreed between the Selectmen and br Tolman that hee shall take Henry lakes child to keepe it untill it com to 21 years of age etc. and therefore to haue 26 pounds and to give security to the towne and to teach it to reade and wright and when it is capable if he lives the said br Tolman to teach it his trade.¹

The money paid for the education of this child was a charge on the taxable property of the town and hence illustrates partial town support of education for a poor child. There are many other examples of this practice.²

When indentures were made under the direction of the county court the cost of education usually fell on the master. Thus a boy, Hugh March of Newbury, of his own will and with the consent of his parents was apprenticed to Benjamin Lowle, of Newbury, blacksmith, for six years, "to learn the trade of a blacksmith, and said Lowle to perfect him in writing and casting accounts, in reading English and in the trade of making or mending locks."³

In some cases poor children were bound out with the express provision that masters must not only teach the child a trade but pro-

a Booke" (H. R. Stiles, *Ancient Winsor*, I, 442). In 1647 the county court bound out a boy as an apprentice and provided that the master should teach him to read and write (*Essex County Court Records*, I, 118; see also *ibid.*, pp. 132, 163, 380). Indentures recorded in Maine provide for the teaching of apprentices "to reade and write"; "to write and siffer"; "to write, etc., read, Legably and Audibly" (*York Deeds* [Portland, Me., 1887], II, 129: 1672); see also *ibid.*, p. 159: 1674; *ibid.*, p. 73: 1679). Hartford (Conn.) selectmen "put out" a boy as an apprentice and provided that he be taught to read the Bible and to write (*Coll. Conn. Hist. Soc.*, VI, 775).

¹ *Dorchester Town Records* (1634-87), p. 306: 1651.

² See *ibid.*, p. 165, for a contract (1669) stipulating that in the case of the child of John Stock, the master should "teach or Cause it to be taught to read p'ftly the English tongue . . . the principles of the Christian religion. And in such housewifly employment of Spinning and Knitting . . . [the town to pay] out of the Towne Rate the Sum of Thirty pounds." Other examples are in *ibid.*, pp. 166, 173, 171. See also *Watertown Records*, I, 107: 1671, "and to have for his incurigment fifty shillings to be paid by the town."

³ *Essex County Court Records*, V, 417.

vide for their education by sending them to school for a specified period.¹

Besides the method of providing for the education of children through masters of apprentices the New England assemblies also provided for parental responsibility; viz., teaching children to read, regardless of whether the child was bound out or not.² Selectmen or others were instructed by a vote in town meeting to visit homes of parents and masters and see that the laws on education were enforced. The first town to recognize the importance of a general education for all children was, as we might expect, Cambridge, the location of Harvard College. On November 9, 1642, five months after the passage of the law mentioned, the town meeting voted as follows: "According to an order by Courte made the last generall courte for the townesmen to see to the educating children."³ It was ordered that six men named should be responsible for all the families living within specified boundaries; that is, each must see that children within his district could read, etc. So Billerica (1661) appointed two men "to examine the severall families in our town whether the children and servants are taught in the precepts of religion in reading and learning their catechism."⁴ In 1675 this duty was delegated to a minister, thus:

The selectmen do order that all children and youth, single persons from eight years old and upward, their parents and masters shall send such children and servants to the Rev. Mr. Samuel Whiting, at such times as shall afterwards be appointed by him, to be examined of both [catechizing and reading], as hoping this might be a good expedient for the encouragement of all superiors and youth.⁵

The Watertown selectmen were also anxious to obey the law and to prevent illiteracy in their town.

¹ An apprentice was to be sent to school until he could write (*ibid.*, II, 135). Another apprentice was to be kept at school for at least two years (*Plymouth Colony Records*, I, 36-37).

² See p. 411, n. 1.

³ *Cambridge Town Records* (1630-1703), p. 47.

⁴ H. A. Hazen, *History of Billerica*, p. 252. The selectmen appointed the next day to "go the rounds" to examine the teaching of children and youth according to law.

⁵ *Ibid.*

Jenry the 3d 1670.—At a meeting of the select men at the house of Isaake Sterns: It was further agreed that the select men should goe through the town in their ceural quarters to make tryall whether children and servants be educated in Learneing to read the English tongue and in the Knowledge of the capitall Laws according to the Law of the Country also that they may be educated in sum orthodox Caticise.¹

Later in the year the town became anxious about the education of particular children.

At a generall towne meeteing Nov. 7, 1670. Ordered that John Edy seir shall goe to John Fisk his house and to George Lorance and Willyam preist houseis to inquire a bought their Children wither they be Lernerd to read the english tong and in case they be defective to warne in the said John George and Willyam to the next meeting of the selectmen.²

The result of this inquiry was somewhat discouraging.

Willyam priest John Fisk and George Lorance being warned to a meeting of the select men at John Bigulah his house they making their a peerance: and being found defective weer admonished for not Learning their Children to read the english toung; weer convinced did acknowledg their neglect and did promise a mendment.³

Two years later there was another still more saddening report.

Nathan fisk John whitney and Isaak mickstur meaking return of thear inquiry aftur childrens edducation finde that John fisks children ear naythur taught to read nor yet thear caticise.⁴

The Dorchester selectmen found (1671) one parent who did not take kindly to the duty of educating his son. Timothy Wales replied in "words and answers [which] were very offensive and contemptuous unto the Selectmen." Summoned again he appeared with his sons

and upon examination of the boys they weer found to be very Ignorant and not able to read, and being admonished was dismissed at that time only he made some acknowledgment of his offensive words and carriage the last day of meeting and that in wrighting which remains on file.⁵

When the selectmen were unable to comply with the law because of the resistance of parents they sometimes appealed to the county court. The selectmen of Lancaster wrote a letter (1673) to the court

¹ *Watertown Records*, I, 204.

² *Ibid.*, p. 102.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 103: December 13, 1670.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 114: November 25, 1672.

⁵ *Dorchester Town Records*, p. 182.

complaining that they had labored with a certain Edmund Parker "in Reference to his son to get him sum learning and to bring him up to som employment according as the law provides or suffer them to doe it, but nothing would prevail with him." The court replied that unless Mr. Parker reformed the selectmen should "dispose of the sonne to service where he may be better taught and Governed."¹

There are cases of the presentment of individuals to a county court for neglecting to teach their children to read as required by the law. Thus in September, 1677, Goodman Lancelot Granger of Suffield was presented to the Hampshire County Court "for the neglect of learning his Children to read." In March, 1678, he appeared and said he was "using the means to learn them to read, and promised to do his best and was discharged."²

The selectmen of towns were also presented to the county courts for breach of the laws on education, catechizing, and unemployment. An early case is that of the selectmen of Charlestown. It reads as follows:

Charlestowne Selectmen being presented for not observing the Law conc'ning the Katcheising of Children, & Keeping them to imploym^t. The Court comended it to ye selectmen, that they attend their duty there in as the law directed, and make returne thereof to the next Court, and to pay costs—*2s. 6d.*³

Topsfield was also presented. The selectmen were ordered to cease their "former neglect" and to bring to the next court a list of the names of all "yong persons." Attention was called to the law (1648) which required that the selectmen see that all youth be taught "to read perfectly the English tongue, have knowledge of the capital laws, and be taught some orthodox catechism."⁴ York County Court, in Maine, 1675, presented the selectmen of several towns for neglect of the law. That for Kittery reads: "We present the Selectmen of the town of Kittery, for not taking care that their children and youth be taught their catechism and education according to Law."⁵

¹ *Lancaster Town Records* (1643-1725), pp. 95-96.

² Sylvester Judd, *History of Hadley*, pp. 60-61.

³ Records of the County Court of Middlesex, Mass., 1649-63 (MSS), I, 194: December 27, 1659.

⁴ *Essex County Court Records*, IV, 212: 1668.

⁵ *Maine Hist. Soc. Col.*, I, 285 (extracts from "York County Court Records").

In July, 1674, the selectmen of Salem, Beverley, and Manchester were presented for failure to see that the children of their towns were properly educated. The presentment of Salem and the reply of Beverley follow:

The Selectmen of Salem being presented for breach of that law Instituted, children and youth in page 26 they not making of it to appeare, the said law have beene fully observed, they are admonished to take care not only to see that wholesome and profitable law to the comon wealth be duly executed and this court shall give you all due encouragement, advice and assistants therin. And further doe order that upon the penalty of £10 they bring into the next court at Salem, an acct. of what youth from the age of 9 yeares and upward that cannot read or are not profitably employed to the benefit of the Comonwealth and to pay costs.¹

The return² made by Beverley in November, 1674, follows:

This Present writing may humbly Informe the honoured Court now sitting at Salem that whereas the honourable court was pleased at the last Sessions to stirr and Admonish the selectmen of Beverly to take Care not only to see that good and wholesome Law Intituled Children and youth might be duly observed but Likewise to Lay it as an Injunction upon the aforesaid selectmen that Return Bee made to this honoured court of what youth there are within the town from the age of nine yeares and upwards that cannot Read or are not profitably Employed to the benefit of the Comonwealth. Now the above said selectmen have in obeidience not only to that good and wholesome Law but likewise to this honoured Courts particular Order and injunction whose fatherly care wee desire to so acknowledge with all thankfulness given warning in a general way that the severall masters of families doe Instruct their Children and servants in the particulars required in the said law before mentioned and likewise have more lately taken a more particular account of the State of the youth within our limitts in that Respect and doe not find any youth of the age of nine yeares or exceeding it that cannot read: or that are not Induvouring as those under whose tuition these are, being very few doe say who have likewise promised to use their farther Indeavour to perfect them in reading: neither doe not find any that are not Employed in some honest and Lawful calling as those under whose charge they are doe find caus to appoint.

Per order of the Select Men
PAUL SHORIDIK

Dat. 24th. 9th: 1674

¹ Essex County Court Records, 1667-79 (MSS), XXII, 78-79: July 21, 1674. (In the printed records this presentment was omitted and is here given from the original manuscript.)

² *Ibid.*, November, 1674.

The selectmen of the town of Manchester certified to the court that they had performed their duty and the law was observed,¹ and the court at this session accepted the returns of all three towns.²

These reports concerning the state of education are decidedly optimistic, but they are quite common. When towns were indicted the selectmen were compelled to satisfy the county court of the ability of children within their town to read. If found guilty of negligence they might be fined. In answer to an inquiry of the Middlesex County Court (1680), five towns reported on the state of their schools. All asserted that their educational facilities were satisfactory. Concord, for example, replied: "As for Schools, we have in every quarter of the Town both men and women that teach to read and write English, when parents can spare their children or others go to them."³ This proves, however, that education was available rather than actually given to all children. A more detailed report is that of the town of Wayland (1680) which reads as follows:

And as for Schools, tho' there be no stated school in this town, for that the inhabitants are so scattered in their dwellings that it cannot well be, yet such is the case that, by having two school dames on each side of the river, that teacheth small children to spell and read, which is so managed by the parents and governors at home, and prosecuted after such sort as that the selectmen who distributed themselves did within three months last past so examine families, children, and youth, both as to good manners, orderly living, catechizing, and reading, as that they returned from all parts a comfortable good account of all these matters, and render them growing in several families beyond expectation, rarely reprobable anywhere, encouraging in most places, and in others very commendable, so as that the end is accomplished hitherto. And for teaching to write or cypher, here is Mr. Thomas Walker, and two or three others about this town, that do teach therein, and are ready to teach all others that need, if people will come or send them.⁴

It is difficult to believe that in all these towns most children were able to read at this date, but such is the evidence given by the selectmen. It is evident that they were motivated by the desire to avoid a penalty.

Connecticut does not seem to have made as much effort as Massa-

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, V, 173.

⁴ Hudson, *History of Sudbury, Wayland and Maynard*, p. 44.

chusetts to enforce her laws on education, although her act of 1690 complains that there were "many persons unable to read the English tongue, and thereby incapable [of] to read the holy word of God or the good laws of the colony."¹ A school act of 1678 had provided that every town of thirty families should maintain a school to teach children to read and write. A vote of the town of Norwich (1680) indicates that this town was willing to bear the whole expense of educating poor children:

1st, that parents send their children; 2d, that they pay their proportion, according to what is judged just; 3d, that they take care parents be not oppressed, espeshally such who are disabled; 4th, that whatever is additionally necessary for the perfecting the maintenance of a school-master, is a charge and expense belonging to all the inhabitants of the town, and to be gathered as other rates; 5th, whatever else is necessary to a prudent carrying through this occation is comitted to the discretion of the said selectmen.²

The quality and quantity of instruction of course depended on the ability of both teacher and child. The case of Samuel Hadley apprenticed to Joseph Pike who was to be taught the trade of a weaver ("Said Pike was to teach him to read and write well") is an example. The case came before the county court. One deponent swore³ that while Hadley had lived at his house "he and his sisters took a great deal of care and diligently instructed him in reading and he was put to school, but he did not gain much of what might have been expected." The deponent further stated, "In his ordinary employment he was incapastious that I never saw one of that age soe unfit for larning and any work in which was needfull to have discretion used."

The New England colonies passed important acts establishing a system of compulsory schools, as well as a system of compulsory education. The famous Act of Massachusetts (1647) provided that when towns attained a population of fifty families, someone must be appointed to teach children who came to him to read and write. Advantage was taken of this and similar acts by parents and by masters of apprentices in order to comply with the requirement that all

¹ *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut (1678-89)*, p. 251.

² F. M. Caulkins, *History of Norwich*, p. 92.

³ *Essex County Court Records*, IV, 219: March 29, 1670.

children must be able to read. That is, a choice could be made whether a child should be taught at home or sent to a school. Since in many towns tuition fees were charged, the problem of the education of children by illiterate or poor parents and masters was a common one.

Salem voted,¹ September 30, 1644, "Also that if any poore body hath children or a childe, to be put to school and not able to pay for their schooling, that the Towne will pay by rate." Plymouth voted (1705) that "children of such as through poverty are rendered on-capable to pay, theire Children to goe to school free."²

In the eighteenth century the idea of a free school for all children made rapid progress. This was a great advantage to those to whom poor children were bound out, for by the terms of the indenture they were required to see that the child received the rudiments of education. If parents or masters could afford to pay a tuition fee they were often required to do so in towns where such fees were demanded. Thus, "at a Town Meeting held at plimouth July 31, 1699 voted that the selectmen should take care to provide A scoole Master . . . and that Every Schollar that Coms to *wrigh or syfer* or to learn latten shall pay 3 pence per weke if to Read only then to pay 3 half pence per weke to be paid by their Masters or parents."³

On the other hand, Northampton voted (1693) £40 to the schoolmaster "and the Scholars to go free."⁴ So Malden (1701) declared⁵ that "the School is to be free for all the inhabitants." Another method is illustrated by a vote⁶ of Charlestown in 1712.

Then voted five pound to be raised for the payment for some poor Children at such Womens Schools as Shall be allowed of by the Selectmen being for such Children . . . as those parents are not able to bring them to School which Shall be determined by Capt Samuel Phipps and Capt Jonathan Dowe.

¹ Salem Town Records, "Essex Inst. Hist. Coll., IX, 132. Cf. also *Brookline and Muddy River Records*, p. 86: 1687, "Save any persons that are poor to be abated wholly or in part"; *Watertown Records*, II, 28: 1686, "Voated also that the towne will pay for such Children as thear parents are not abell to pay for. The selectmen Being Judges of that mattur."

² *Records of the Town of Plymouth (1636-1743)*, II, 2.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 270. Cf. H. M. Burt, *First Century of the History of Springfield*, I, 74: 1707.

⁴ J. R. Trumbull, *History of Northampton*, I, 426.

⁵ D. P. Corey, *History of Malden*, p. 602.

⁶ Charlestown Town Records (MSS), VI, 92: May 2, 1712.

During the eighteenth century the indentures apprenticing poor children continued to include clauses requiring instruction in the rudiments of education as required by the laws. Where in 1642 only reading was required, the poor law of 1710 (Mass.) provided¹ that when male children whose parents did not pay taxes, were bound out, such children must be taught both reading and writing (females reading only), and that officers must inquire into the "usage" of children bound out. Malden "voted [1745] that Edward Wayte shall have John Ramsdell who is about five years old till he come of age and said Wayt shall have thirty pounds old tenor with him in case said Waitt wil be obliged to learne said child to read, wright and cypher and also to learne him the Shoemakers trade."²

The practice of inspecting the status of apprentices according to the act of 1710 (Mass.) is illustrated by a vote of the selectmen of Charlestown:

In observance of a Province Law the Selectmen as overseers of the Poor being accompanied with the Rev^d. Mr. Hull Abbot and Mr. Seth Sweetser schoolmaster have taken their Journeys to visit the Children put out by Indenture under their care (as they did last year) and find them well provided for, viz., at Watertown Ephraim Mallit with Nathan Fisk, and Josiah Dyer with Samuel Bowman, etc.³

The names of seven boys and six girls are given.

It appears, then, that the acts providing for instruction by parents in the home, by masters of apprentices, and by others, such as schoolmasters or schoolmistresses, were enforced by towns and county courts; that a system of visitation and scrutiny by selectmen and grand jurors existed; and that poor children were taken from their parents and bound out as apprentices and given the rudiments of education as required by law. Since apprenticeship was compulsory for children of those parents who could not bring them up properly and since indentures generally included clauses providing that the child should be taught to read and were publicly recorded, we

¹ *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, I, 654.

² Corey, *History of Malden*, pp. 402-3. For other examples see *Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, VI, 175: 1703. For Rhode Island see *Early Records of Providence*, V, 146: 1696; IX, 5: 1713.

³ Charlestown Town Records, 1719-61 (MSS), VII, 180.

may conclude that many children profited from this system, especially in the seventeenth century. After the development of the idea of a free public school for all children, in such towns as took this action, there was free education for poor children and apprentices; viz., masters of apprentices, if they chose, might conform to the requirement for education as set forth in the indenture by sending an apprentice to a free school. The laws providing for parental responsibility and those for making the master of an apprentice directly responsible for education, as administered by selectmen, grand jurors, and county courts, are important in estimating the facilities and extent of free elementary education for poor children. Taken in connection with the laws compelling towns to set up elementary schools and the tendency to support these schools by a general tax on all property holders for the benefit of all children, one can better appreciate the basis of New England's right to claim great credit for establishing the American idea of universal elementary education for all children.

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RESEARCH AS A JOINT SOCIAL WORK PROJECT¹

ONE of the most biting criticisms of higher education I ever heard came from a graduate student. He quoted Bernard Shaw's epigram, "Those who can, do; those who can't, teach." Let that sink in a bit as a student's estimate of the caliber of his instructors. I suppose social workers may secretly translate that epigram and think, if they do not say, "Those who can, do; those who can't, research." The object of this paper is to see how those who can and do do social work and those who study and teach, can co-operate in research which shall be fruitful and not sterile.

WHAT IS RESEARCH?

All research requires fact-finding, but all fact-finding is not research. Fact-finding, to become research, must show the relations of facts either in getting a complete picture, or in comparison with other facts, or in discovering causal linkages of facts.

To illustrate, the census presents facts about population. It is the result of fact-finding. Research can be done on census facts, but the mere census fact-finding is not research. If we tie up the facts of population in 1930 with that for other decennial periods for the same city we are beginning to get research, because the facts are related in a more complete picture. If we compare the facts of population growth in cities and rural districts, we are beginning to do research because we are studying the relation of facts. If we connect population changes with the development of industry in a given city and seek the causes of the population growth of a given city, we are doing research, because we are again studying the relation of facts.

In other words, the facts found must be relevant, that is related, not to some proposition we are trying to prove, but to some question we are trying to answer.

I wish I might honestly add that the facts must be relevant to some question which is worth answering, but that would not be an

¹ Paper read before the National Conference of Social Work at Minneapolis, Minnesota, June 15, 1931.

accurate description of much research. Because of the value of facts, there is a tendency with some scientists to gather facts whether they have any value or not, just as one of my children at the age of three used to get great satisfaction for himself and cause great dissatisfaction to his mother by picking up all the cigarette stubs he could find. Some students assure us that the great thing is to get facts, raising curiosity to a worshipful place in the clutter of human instincts. They argue that because some facts whose use was not immediately obvious have later become useful, all facts will sometime be useful. In elementary logic which we studied in college, the fallacy of this method of argument was illustrated by the following faulty syllogism: "Some black cats have a white spot under the chin. This is a black cat. Therefore it has a white spot under its chin." Applying to the case of the social-fact grubber the syllogism becomes: "Some apparently useless facts have later been useful. This is an apparently useless fact. Therefore it will later be useful."

These pure scientists fondly believe that their duty is to get facts and that sometime in God's great plan these facts will fit in. In the phrase of the sub-deb, such faith is "just too sweet." The psycho-analyzer could doubtless explain this justification as a defense mechanism against the subconsciously felt criticism that their work is of little value. It comes from the common experience that a person who is very busy is generally sure that he is very useful.

The scientist is perfectly right in insisting that some of his investments of time will bring not immediate but deferred dividends, but that is not the same as insisting that dividends are negligible.

Research, then, involves fact-finding, the finding of facts relevant to the question for which an answer is sought and should involve the finding of facts that have a fair chance of producing dividends of use.

TYPES OF RESEARCH

If we go over a considerable range of research projects in the natural sciences, in the social sciences, and in social work, we shall find at least three types which we will call descriptive, comparative, and causal.

1. Descriptive research.

This type aims to get an accurate picture of a situation and a picture which is complete enough for the purpose in hand. Let us illustrate from pieces of research which have actually been done in the fields of natural science, social science, and social work.

- a) A botanical study in the Black Hills of South Dakota is an illustration from the field of natural science.
- b) *A History of Labor Legislation in Illinois* is an illustration from the field of social science.
- c) "A Summary of Activities, Membership, Personnel, and Expenditures of Eighty Settlements in New York City" is an illustration of a descriptive type of research in the field of social work.

2. Comparative research.

This is an extension of the descriptive type. It tries to get two or more pictures and to compare them. It is often a step toward the third or causal type because the differences brought out by the comparison may indicate clues as to the causes of these differences. Let us illustrate again from the three fields selected.

- a) A Ph.D. thesis on "The Reflection of Positive Rays by a Platinum Surface" is an illustration of this type from the field of natural science. This study tried to determine the relative amount of the rays reflected under various conditions. The picture of facts under condition one was compared with the picture of facts under condition two and so on.
- b) Miss Jeter's study of *The Trends of Population in the Region of Chicago* is an illustration from the field of social science. Facts of population at one time in a given area are compared with facts of population in the same area at other times.
- c) A study of the work of several social agencies in the Community Union of Madison, Wisconsin, is an illustration of this type in social work, for the picture of the work done by the various agencies was compared with the picture of the work contemplated or intended by those agencies as shown in their constitution and by-laws and as shown by the concepts of purpose held by the board members and staff.

3. The causal type.

This type tries to link up one set of facts called "effects" with another set called "causes." It is the most difficult type of research and the most useful as indicating methods of control or means of remedying conditions which are harmful or inconvenient. Again let us illustrate from the three fields:

- a) A study of the spectrum of the solar corona, in an attempt to account for certain lines in the spectrum, is an illustration in the field of natural science.
- b) In the field of social science we find an illustration in a study by a Japanese student of the "Class Conflict in Japan as Affected by the Expansion of Japanese Industry and Trade." This study showed that the development of the industrial and commercial era in Japan has given power to the artisan-merchant class, has broken down the prestige of the Samurai class, and has thus caused a class conflict.
- c) "A Study of the Juvenile Detention Home in Relation to Juvenile Court Policy in Cook County, Illinois" sought the cause of the increase in the number of children in the detention home and found it in certain administrative methods. A remedy in changed administrative methods was then suggested.

FACTORS NEEDED FOR SUCCESS IN EACH TYPE

Let us now examine what factors are needed for success in each of these three types of research and then we shall be in a better position to judge what each group, social agencies, councils, and schools of social work can contribute.

1. The descriptive type.

- a) For success in research of this type we must first focus the camera; in other words work out the schedule of questions we are going to ask. This means not only focusing on a given area (Black Hills of South Dakota, Illinois, New York City, in the illustrations used)—not only focusing on plants, a certain type of legislation, a certain kind of social agencies, settlements, in the illustrations used—but, more important still, focusing on the selected features to be studied. In the illus-

tration of the eighty settlements, matters of activities, membership, personnel, and expenditures were selected for study. But with regard to each of these factors further selection or focusing was necessary. For instance, it may not be enough to say that a given settlement conducts dramatics, but we may wish to know age of participants, kinds of plays presented, and method, varying from dialogue in costume to an elaborateness almost of a little theater.

On the make-up of the list of questions to be asked from people or from documents, on the focusing of the camera or the microscope in getting the picture, depends the success of the study. This was impressed on me in some recreation surveys I made years ago. Every few days I had to inventory the facts which were coming in because many of the facts were interesting but irrelevant, and if selection were not made based on our questionnaire we should have had an unintelligible jumble, like the mass of material which students of deep-sea life bring up in their nets.

- b) Having shaped our questionnaire, we must use it, and skill is required in using the tool as well as in making it. This is why most questionnaires sent out to be answered and returned by mail are so futile. In most cases evidence has to be gathered first hand by interviews, except in the case of the simplest inquiries. Here is needed all the skill of any interview, getting the person questioned at ease, getting him to understand what you are asking, avoiding suggestion to warp his replies.
 - c) Having gathered our facts, the descriptive research to be of any value must arrange and present them clearly in charts and tables. Here must be avoided the distortions which come from faulty uses of summarizing devices, such as averages, medians, co-ordinates. We must not only focus the camera and take the picture, we must develop the film and print the picture.
2. The comparative type.

Turning to the comparative type we find that it is essentially the descriptive type extended to cover two or more descriptions. In the illustration of the Madison, Wisconsin, study there was a

picture of the work of an agency as it is and a picture of work of the agency as conceived of by the founders of the agency or its board members, or a picture of the work needed in the agency's field. On the descriptive side the same factors are required for success as in the simple descriptive type of research.

But for complete success certain factors are necessary in the process of comparing. First we must clearly summarize points of likeness and points of difference between the pictures, but we must be careful not to limit any picture to points of similarity. In the illustration used the founders of a given organization may have planned more than is accomplished. Those planned and unperformed parts of the first picture must not be blacked out. On the other hand, everyday experience may have developed new needs and the work as it is may contain features never dreamed of as necessary. These must not be blacked out. I fancy many founders of certain agencies never conceived of the new problems and duties thrust upon these agencies by the current depression. But to be useful for comparison each picture must be complete even if there is nothing to compare part of it with in another picture but a blank space.

3. The causal type.

This, the most difficult and most useful type, requires the accuracy of the preceding types and in addition an elementary knowledge of the methods of science. I have sometimes thought that one reason why the social sciences have suffered the ban of not being "real" sciences has been partly due to the fact that their exponents have forgotten what Francis Bacon wrote, over three hundred years ago, about the methods of scientific reasoning in his *Novum Organum*, and what they may have studied in college in elementary logic on John Stuart Mill's five methods of inductive reasoning first published in 1843.

Of Mills's five methods the most convincing is the method of difference where two groups of phenomena are compared and the absence of one on the effect side is tied up with the absence of one on the cause side. The classic illustration is the dropping of a coin and a feather in a glass jar. In the first instance the jar is full of air and the coin reaches the bottom first. In the second instance

everything is the same except that the air has been pumped out of the jar and the coin and feather reach the bottom at the same time. From this the cause of the slower movement of the feather in the first instance is seen to be the resistance of the air.

In the social sciences and in social work, we cannot often use this method. The groups of facts are too complex. But we can use Mill's "Joint Method of Agreement and Difference." In this method many complex groups of facts varying in many respects are compared. If a common linkage of two phenomena can be found in certain of the instances and absent in others, we infer that the linkage is a causal one. Robinson in his *Principles of Reasoning* gives an illustration.¹ In a group of rural communities are found many differing factors, but in all there is tenant occupancy of farms and the rural church is either dead or very inactive. In another group of rural communities there are also many differing factors, but all the farms are occupied by owners and the rural church is alive and active. The inference is that there is a causal relation between tenant occupancy and inactivity of the rural church.

In social work and the social sciences we often cannot develop controlled experiments. We try, by the records of many events, to catch the experiment made for us.

For success in the causal type of research we must be able to get accurate pictures, must be able to compare them, and in addition must know enough about the elements of inductive reasoning to recognize when we have or have not present some form of the joint method of agreement and difference.

WHAT CAN EACH GROUP OF SOCIAL AGENCIES CONTRIBUTE TO CO-OPERATIVE RESEARCH?

Having seen the main types of research and what is required for success in each type, let us see what each of the following social agencies can contribute. We shall examine the possible contribution of the individual social agencies, such as family welfare societies, tuberculosis associations, settlements, etc., of councils of social agencies, city-wide or in a single field like a health council in a single

¹ D. S. Robinson, *The Principles of Reasoning*, p. 274.

city, of schools of social work (both pupils and instructors), of national social agencies within special fields, and lastly of the National Conference of Social Work.

1. The individual social agency.

One of the great contributions of the individual social agency is in the selection of the problem for study. Whatever may be the field of social science, social work is essentially work. It is trying to do something. From the standpoint of social work no research is justified which does not promise to answer some question which needs to be answered in order that work may be better done. For instance, when certain hospitals in Cleveland wanted to know if their housekeeping costs were eating up too much of their budgets, they furnished a subject of study which justified descriptive and comparative research.

Next, the individual social agency can test for practicability questionnaires in the making. For instance, I recently wanted to know if it were feasible to get weekly telegraphic reports on the numbers of applications for relief in a large number of cities. Those who were in touch with individual agencies quickly indicated that this would not be possible in three-quarters of the agencies because of understaffing.

On interviewing to get answers to questionnaires handled in that way instead of by mail, individual social agencies can furnish guidance and contacts for the interviewer. In some instances where especially experienced and skilled interviewers are required, they can furnish some of this service.

After the facts have been summarized and arranged, individual agencies can contribute much in testing the validity of the conclusions. Sometimes we get our work all done and certain conclusions seem correct, yet the individual agency knows that they just are not so. They can then point out what facts have been omitted from the picture.

One warning is necessary. We must be careful that social workers in individual agencies do not find advancement by doing research work instead of doing good social work. I know a laboratory school in one school of education where advancement comes to the teachers for doing research instead of doing good

teaching. This has had harmful effects both on the teaching methods and on the pupils of that school. The quality of service rendered to those helped by the agency, not skill in research, should be the yardstick for advancing salaries in any social agency.

2. Councils of social agencies.

To save space, in the types of agencies to be covered from now on in this paper, we shall indicate only contributions which they make which are different from those already mentioned. For instance, councils like individual agencies, can help in making up the questionnaires, focusing the camera, in making contacts for interviews and testing validity of conclusions, but those are not peculiar to councils.

What are the unique contributions of councils? First, they can suggest studies which involve the relations of individual agencies or which include more than one type of agency. For instance, some years ago it was necessary to see if the family budget suggested by the Chicago Council of Social Agencies was above the usual income of unskilled laborers. This family budget was of use not only in family welfare agencies, but also in child-caring societies and in health and other organizations. This need was met by a study of the *Income and Standard of Living of Unskilled Laborers in Chicago*. Or a health council may need to know the type of service, kind of health instruction, and cost of work by a visiting nurse association and a group of public-health nurses.

In the causal type of research, where several groups of facts must be studied to find both agreements and differences to indicate the probable cause, councils can be especially helpful.

They can also be serviceable in making certain "tool" studies which are to be used by several different types of agencies. Two illustrations will suffice of such tool studies: *A Guide to Statistics of Social Welfare in New York City* listed by the Welfare Council of New York, and the statistical area maps secured by the Cleveland Health Council from the United States Census.

3. Schools of social work—students.

The chief contribution of students in schools of social work is in gathering the facts, doing the interviews, and in summariz-

ing and arranging the facts found. They have to do much of the foot work of social research. Their skill varies with their maturity and their background of practical experience. Because many of them lack this background of experience, we have to fall back on the workers of individual social agencies for much guidance and in some cases for the actual interviews.

Here again one caution is necessary. In view of the student's need of broad as well as practical training, we must not throw so much foot work on him that he does not get his background training. I once knew a high-school print shop which did such good work that students put so much time on printing that they failed to get the other training they needed. A similar error must be avoided with students in schools of social work.

4. Schools of social work—teachers.

The contribution of teachers and directors of research in schools of social work is threefold. First, they have to check over, if not compose, the questionnaire, that is, help focus the camera. It should be repeated that we mean by questionnaires not merely typed lists to be sent to respondents for reply by mail, but questionnaires to be used by interviewers in guiding their inquiries, and also questions which are put to documents, where data is sought from them. Their experience with questions should make them of especial value in the shaping of the inquiry, so that it will get facts, and all the facts available, and nothing but the facts.

Teachers and directors of research have a contribution to make in checking over the summarization of facts, of suggesting methods of charting to reveal the facts, in seeing that essential facts are not omitted, that in the comparative method all the similarities and differences are noted. In the causal type, they have to note whether the arrangement of reports and statistics is such as to bring out the group which agrees in having present a common cause and a common effect, and the group which agrees in having the common cause and the common effect absent.

Much of their serviceableness comes from their contacts with the social sciences, with economics and political science, with psychology and geography, to see what those sciences can con-

tribute both to the methods of social-work research and to the groupings of facts which show agreements and differences.

An illustration will make my meaning clearer. We very much need an adequate study of so-called "made work" as a method of relief. At the very outset, for practical purposes, we need a summary of practice as this device has actually been used in various cities this last winter. This is merely a rough picture, hastily assembled for use next fall. But further we need real research, an adequate comparative study which shall bring out the similarities and differences from the old work test. The object of the work test was to weed out the loafer. The object of "made work" is to maintain the self-respect of the worker and to return to the community furnishing the money not only workers with full stomachs, but also concrete pieces of needed public improvements. The economist must tell us how to look for the effect of wage rates in "made work" on general wage rates. The political scientist should tell us where to look for the causes of harassing delays in getting needed appropriations for such public works. The teacher in the school of social work should be the one to assemble and co-ordinate these contributions until an adequate plan of study is worked out. He has to see how the social scientists, who of late are developing a desire to be pure scientists, can also be useful.

5. National agencies.

Here I am referring to national agencies specializing in service to individual social agencies in a given field. They have much to give in the way of suggestions of subjects of study, much to give in the way of wide tests of practicability of certain forms of inquiry, much to give in the way of contacts and leads to sources of facts.

Their unique contribution is to furnish access to such a wide variety of groups of facts that distortions due to localized influences may be avoided. While teachers in schools of social work may see the need of varied and widely extended groups of facts for use in the method of agreement and difference, the national agencies are the people to put the inquiry in touch with these widely scattered groups of facts.

Referring to the illustration just given of a study of "made work" for relief, we must rely on a national agency to get facts from communities of sufficiently different conditions of size, availability of tax funds, and social-work experience to make the study of any value.

6. The National Conference of Social Work.

We have not often thought of the National Conference as having any part in research. I think it has a very important part to play. In the earlier decades of the Conference, it was largely a place for workers to swap ideas. It was a large set of cracker barrels around the stove in an enormous country store.

Of late, it has come to see its place in publicizing research. Many of its papers have reported the results of research in popular and understandable form.

It is, I believe, entering on a third stage where, by having a hold-over element on each program committee, it can make some suggestion as to the trends of needed research. The Conference is in a unique position to do this for it has contact with national agencies in the affiliated groups, it has contact with state conferences of social work, where emerge problems of more than local and less than national significance, and it has, through its divisional committees, contacts with individual social agencies. It should use these contacts, which no other organization which I know of has in such variety, to indicate trends for needed research. Some of us have read with interest in the last few weeks reports of the meetings of the United States Chamber of Commerce at Atlantic City and of the International Chamber of Commerce at Washington. We may have been amused by some of the maneuverings to control what subjects should not be discussed in the formal meetings, but these subjects were discussed anyway in the hotel lobbies and in the newspapers. We must admit that out of these meetings as reported in the papers emerged pretty clearly what questions need further to be studied, if the present depression is to be alleviated. The trends of needed research became apparent in those meetings. Similarly the National Conference of Social Work, if it can arrange for some continuity of

real thought on its program committees, can serve a helpful purpose in regard to research in social work. It will not do research itself, but it will popularize the reports of research by putting them in understandable form and it will show where research is needed in connection with some of the basic, ground-swell trends of social work.

Research may be a tool of service, like a much-thumbed reference book, or it may be a means of escape from harder work like a detective story. Needless to say, we plead for the tool of service.

Life is so complex that the microscope of no particular specialty can give an adequate picture. Hence co-operative research is imperative.

It is my humble opinion that this world-war against depression marks the opening of a new economic and social era, which will probably come in this country not by a revolution, as in Russia, but by a muddling, halting, jerking evolution, as in England. In this new era, social work will be different from what it has been in the past. We must have research so that we may not attempt too many things which we shall have to undo. But this research must be guided into the main current of economic and social development, rather than left to whirl in the eddies or stagnate in the backwaters of institutionalized habits.

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WASHINGTON, D.C.

HOMELESS MEN—CHICAGO, 1930-31

CHICAGO, like other great American cities, has created emergency machinery for relieving the increasing army of unemployed men, many of whom faced the problems of destitution for the first time during the past winter. Unfortunately, the emergency machinery cannot easily be abandoned. The following result of a recent study of the group of men who were on the first of June still living in shelters provided by the Commission on Unemployment set up by the governor of Illinois presents the facts about one of the divisions of the unemployed army—the men without families and without homes.

From October 16, 1930, to June 1, 1931, 43,200 different "homeless men" passed through the eighteen free lodging-houses in Chicago that were operated by Governor Emmerson's Commission on Unemployment and Relief. Some of these men secured employment with the coming of the spring. Others began again to sleep in public parks and in box cars. As rapidly as the exodus permitted, the Governor's Commission reduced the number of shelters.

On June 1, 1931, only two of these shelters, the Salvation Army New Start Lodge Number One and the Municipal Lodging House, were still open. On that date these two shelters were affording relief to 2,595 men. The Housing Committee of the Governor's Commission decided to promote a study of this group to analyze its specific problems and to determine what further provision, if any, should be made for Chicago homeless men.

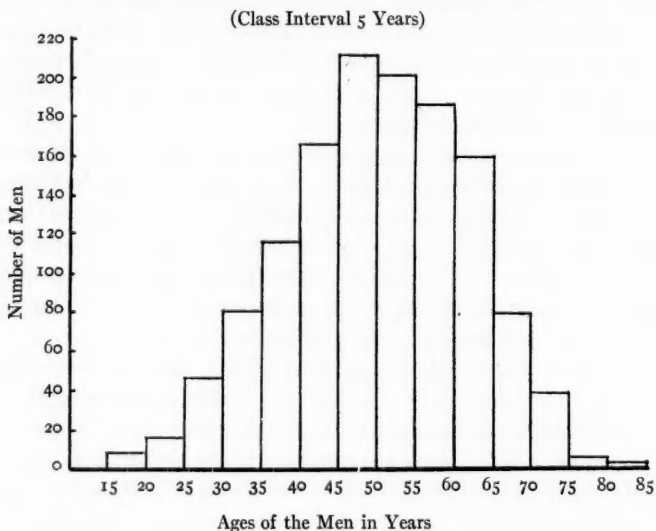
The first group studied consisted of 1,522 men who were regular beneficiaries of the two shelters on June 1. These men were "siftings" who came from the other shelters which had been open during the winter months. As each shelter closed, it sent to one of these remaining shelters the more dependent types of men who were obviously unable to shift for themselves.

The results of this policy were reflected by the age composition of the group as indicated by an analysis of a random sample of 1,312 of them. The mean age was found to be fifty and one-tenth years.

The median was slightly above fifty years. Fifty per cent of these men, therefore, were fifty or more years of age. Computation of the quartile value showed that 25 per cent were more than fifty-eight years of age. The age distribution of the entire group is shown graphically in Chart I.

CHART I

AGES OF 1,312 HOMELESS AND UNATTACHED MEN WHO WERE REGULARLY BOARDED AND LODGED AT THE SALVATION ARMY NEW START LODGE NUMBER ONE DURING THE MONTHS OF OCTOBER TO JUNE, 1930-31



The foregoing figures were compared with some figures collected by the Municipal Lodging House Number Two for the month of January. The January figures showed a mean age of approximately forty-two years, which was considered representative for the lodging-house populations when all eighteen shelters were open. Thus the transition from winter to summer served to change the population of the shelters from a group preponderantly middle aged and able bodied to one in which the majority were hampered by the specific handicap of old age.

Table I and Table I A show the length of time spent in shelters during the last nine months of a sample of 698 of these men. Fifty per cent had previously received more than four months' care; 28 per cent had received more than six months' care.

TABLE I

LENGTH OF TIME SPENT IN FREE SHELTERS DURING THE PERIOD
OCTOBER, 1930, TO JUNE, 1931, OF 698 MEN WHO WERE LIVING
IN THE NEW START LODGE NUMBER ONE DURING THE WEEK OF
JUNE 4-11, 1931

Length of Time in Shelters	Number of Men
Less than 1 month	95
1 month and less than 2	105
2 months and less than 3	83
3 months and less than 4	63
4 months and less than 5	65
5 months and less than 6	90
6 months and less than 7	119
7 months and less than 8	69
8 months and less than 9	9
Total	698

TABLE I A

CUMULATIVE FIGURES AND PERCENTAGES OF FOREGOING MATERIAL

Length of Time under Care	Cumulated Downward	Per Cent
More than 1 day	698	100
More than 1 month	603	86
More than 2 months	498	71
More than 3 months	415	59
More than 4 months	352	50
More than 5 months	287	41
More than 6 months	197	28
More than 7 months	78	11
More than 8 months	9	1

Table II shows the nationalities according to place of birth of a sample of 959 of these men. By far the largest single group, 432, or 45 per cent, of the total number were native born. The second largest group was Polish, 105, or 10 per cent. Immigrants from Southern Europe contributed negligible proportions of the total.

During the month of June there were 2,754 additional men who applied for relief. Most of these had received service during the winter months and were forced to return. Many asked for only a few days' help on the plea that they expected to make other ar-

TABLE II
NATIONALITIES ACCORDING TO PLACE OF BIRTH OF A
SAMPLE OF 959 MEN WHO RECEIVED BOARD AND
LODGING AT THE NEW START LODGE NUMBER ONE
DURING THE WEEK ENDING JUNE 11, 1931

Nationality	Number
American.....	432
Polish.....	105
Irish.....	81
German.....	55
Lithuanian.....	49
Swedish.....	31
Austrian.....	30
Mexican.....	28
Norwegian.....	24
Russian.....	22
English.....	14
Italian.....	14
Scotch.....	12
Danish.....	11
Canadian.....	9
Jugo-Slav.....	5
Finnish.....	5
Spanish.....	5
Dutch.....	4
Swiss.....	3
Greek.....	2
All others.....	18
Total.....	959

rangements soon. Some, however, reported that they had succeeded in squeezing through the winter on their own resources and had come to the Commission only after savings had been exhausted or relatives could no longer assist.

The members of the staff assigned to interview the men were instructed to place each man in one of the following groups:

1. Incapacitated
 - a) By old age only, which might not mean incapacity to work but extreme handicap in securing employment because of feeble and aged appearance. [A few of the men placed in this group were in the fifties, but most were sixty years of age or more.]
 - b) By old age and other specific disability, such as hernia, impaired vision, and similar defects
 - c) Specific disability other than old age
 - d) Able to do light or special work only
2. Able-bodied for any kind of manual labor

TABLE III
MEN RECEIVING REGULAR CARE AT NEW START LODGE NUMBER ONE ON
JUNE 1, 1931, AND INTAKE OF NEW APPLICANTS DURING JUNE,
DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO CAPACITY FOR LABOR

Classification	Men Receiving Regular Care	Intake of New Applicants	Totals
Able-bodied	840	2,341	3,181
Incapacitated total	682	413	1,095
Old age	469	305
Old age and disability	82	32
Disability other than old age	60	25
Able for light work only	71	51
Grand total	4,276

Table III shows the capacity for employment of those men regularly receiving service at the beginning of the study plus the intake of applicants during the month. It is interesting to observe that only 55 per cent of the men receiving regular care as of June 1 were able bodied as compared with 85 per cent so classified among the June intake. In other words, it would appear that the incapacitated group have already been in receipt of care. The new applicants come predominantly from the class known as the "able-bodied unemployed."

These men were given consideration in the following ways: (1) Pending investigation and other disposition where possible, all men listed in the incapacitated groups were allowed to remain at the lodge until the last day of June. (2) All able-bodied men classified as residents of Chicago were given one, two, or three days to make other arrangements. If they failed to accomplish this, their cases

were reviewed and were either granted extension or dismissed. (3) Non-residents were given care for one night and instructed to leave town the next day.

At the end of the month by the use of the methods just described the total number receiving assistance each day had been reduced from 2,595 to 1,395. As a result, the mean age was increased from fifty to fifty-six years, and the percentage of incapacitated men was raised from 45 to 72 per cent.

Plans were made for only a very few of the 1,200 men making up the difference between the total at the beginning and the total at the end of the month. None of the group of incapacitated was refused assistance. However, those among the 3,181 able-bodied men interviewed who were unable to make arrangements for themselves after one, or at most two, extensions of the two- or three-day tickets were refused further care. They were told that the funds for their support were practically exhausted and that it would be impossible for the Governor's Commission to give them further regular assistance. They were given permission to return again after a short time for only one or two nights, to take a bath, to clean up, and then continue to look for employment.

This group of men constitutes a difficult problem. After constant contact with them the members of the interviewing staff agreed that the number who would refuse employment if it were offered was very small. Those in charge of the administration of the shelters were of the same opinion. Five to 10 per cent was considered a very liberal estimate. Most of these men have spent the greater part of their lives in Chicago and the immediate vicinity and have contributed to the wealth of the region. They are not unemployables; neither are they tramps and loafers of the ordinary types that line the curb along West Madison Street in good times as well as bad. In explanation of this situation it has been suggested that the typical unemployable loafer from Madison Street has become accustomed to his situation. He has grown independent in his idleness. He will not come to the free shelters because of the iron-bound rules regarding baths, fumigation, and other hygienic measures. These individuals have become thoroughly pauperized and are experienced in the technique of begging, whereas the vast majority of the men cared

for in the free lodging-houses are ashamed of their plight, and they are ashamed to beg even when they are very hungry. A frequent reply to the statement that the lodge can provide no further care is: "What would you have a fellow do? I look every day for a job. I can sleep in the park if I have to, but the only way I can eat is to steal. I am too young to have any luck panhandling. I would not do it anyway."

The group of the incapacitated presents an equally serious problem. All men included in the "old age" group in the preceding tables are over fifty years of age. Most of them are over sixty. Prospects for members of this group to obtain employment are very scant so long as there are so many younger and more vigorous men to take what few jobs are offered. A very few men have prospects for work as watchmen, or dishwashers in restaurants, but most of them see no chances other than as manual laborers.

On July 1 there were more men listed among the "old age plus disability" group than there were vacancies in the county home for the aged, the Oak Forest Infirmary. Most of the men who were eligible for the Oak Forest institution, however, were extremely unwilling to apply for admission. Their attitude when questioned about the possibility of such a plan was that they had two good hands and could support themselves for many more years if they could only secure jobs. Many of them objected to Oak Forest as "charity." Since most of the shelters have been administered by such organizations as the Salvation Army, the men frequently give the Army full credit for the assistance they have received. Board and lodging at the New Start Lodge is just a "lift" that the Army is giving them while they are hard up. They have given money to the Army in better times and now they are just receiving the return favor. They do not look upon it as "charity."

It has been suggested that an institution should be established specifically for the care of these men. Such an institution within the city could offer intermittent assistance to marginal laborers who are able to care for themselves part of the time by temporary or part-time jobs. Such men object to Oak Forest Infirmary. Moreover, if they are sent out of the city they have no opportunity to look for jobs. If they are in the city they can keep in contact with work

prospects and take advantage of them. An employment office could function in connection with the institution. Such a plan would necessarily have to be worked out as a county or a municipal enterprise since the responsibility for the care of these men is very properly a public responsibility.

The number of non-residents dealt with during the month of June was 224. These men were allowed one or two days' care and then were instructed to leave town as they had come. In a few instances they explained that they wished to look for relatives or receive medical care, and a longer period of care was accordingly granted.

At the end of the study the Housing Committee of the Governor's Commission concluded that it would be impossible to close all the shelters during the summer. It was clear that there was no immediate prospect that the county would take over the responsibility for the care of all aged and handicapped workers. Since these men could not be ruthlessly turned out, the decision was that continued assistance should be extended to them. In addition, arrangements were made for the care of a rotating group of 500 of the able-bodied men. These men were to be allowed care for one or two nights, such as had been given during the month of June, in the hope that this limited assistance would help them to maintain some measure of cleanliness and health. For health is one of the major problems involved in providing for this unhappy army of homeless men who want to be honest workingmen and not "bums" but who face a second winter of enforced idleness with all its serious consequences to themselves and to the community of which they are a part.

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GERMAN EXPERIENCE WITH UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE AND RELIEF IN 1930 AND PROPOSED MODIFICATIONS¹

THE German Employment Exchange and Unemployment Insurance Act of July 16, 1927, has now been in operation for three and a half years. The Act and the Institute created to enforce it have but partly fulfilled their purpose, which is to protect the majority of German unemployed against dire want. This has been due not to inadequate organization or methods designed by the Act, but rather to the inevitable consequences of the overwhelming economic depression. This depression, beginning in 1925, spread to many major branches of industry and commerce, so that by 1930 it embraced all German economic life and still today engulfs industry, commerce, trade, agriculture, and shipping.

The causes of this depression can be but briefly enumerated here for lack of space.² Chief among them is the loss of a great part of the foreign market as a result of the development of their own industries

¹ Translated by Mollie Ray Carroll, University of Chicago.

² The general causes for unemployment in Germany are:

1. The increase in employable population from 26,000,000 in 1913 to 30,000,000 in 1930 due to
 - a) The constantly rising pre-war birth-rate and consequent increase of persons of working age from 57 to 63 per cent of the population. This factor alone has added 3,000,000 workers.
 - b) Return of German emigrants and ex-patriates from former German territory now belonging to Poland and France.
 - c) Disbanding of the army and navy that formerly in peace times constituted 760,000 men and employed more than 1,000,000 workers in the manufacture of munitions.
 - d) Entrance into wage-earning occupations of persons previously having independent means, such as housewives and daughters of families formerly well to do. Their domestic servants are also hunting jobs in factories.
2. Reduced consumption of goods because of curtailed buying power of persons formerly well to do, such as factory-owners, farmers, shopkeepers, tradesmen, those in official and managerial positions, and those with independent incomes.
3. Reduction of labor force in industry, handwork, and commerce through rationalization, as against the policy of dilution of labor adopted just after the war and through giving work to pensioners and housewives to whom such work is a side issue.

in practically all civilized lands, for example, development of great textile mills in Asia and South America, factories for pharmaceutical goods in North America and England, and silk mills in Japan, Italy, and France. In other countries high tariff has reduced importation of German wares. Russia has ceased to buy German goods. Lack of capital in Germany prevents creation of new capital, and reparations payments aggravate the situation by taking out of the country much of the capital that is created and that formerly was used in employment of labor.

Nevertheless, the German entrepreneur is striving to the utmost to maintain his business and to meet the competition of other European nations. To this end he is rationalizing his factory, utilizing in part American scientific management methods; but this means, primarily, displacement of men by machines. All these factors combined to augment unemployment, which increased rapidly during 1930. Furthermore, although unemployment was greatest in factories, it grew that year to extensive proportions in agriculture, hitherto the source of occupation for the majority of German folk.

In consequence, the buying power of the people sank perceptibly. Unemployed persons were reduced to almost one-third of their previous incomes, for the average annual wage of the German factory worker is 3,000 marks (\$720), while his unemployment benefits amounted to 1,000 marks (\$240) annually before July, 1930, and after that to 900 marks (\$216). This has resulted in sharp depression of the home market and further release of workers from employment. In consequence, the number of persons seeking employment rose from approximately 800,000 in October, 1927, when the Employment Exchange and Unemployment Insurance Act went into effect, to about 5,000,000 in March, 1931. Naturally, it was impossible for the Institute created to enforce the Act to care for all cases coming under its jurisdiction, especially since the Act was originally designed to insure about 500,000 unemployed.

The federal government, under the terms of the Act, was required to meet the deficit in unemployment-insurance funds through loans. It therefore had to meet deficits periodically until the loans totaled over 600,000,000 marks (\$144,000,000). Since the total national

budget was only 10,000,000,000 or 11,000,000,000 marks (\$2,400,000,000—\$2,600,000,000) annually, and the funds therefore secured only through strict economy, the grants for employment relief imperiled the nation's financial soundness. Therefore, attempts to finance unemployment insurance through new taxes and increase of the premium rate on unemployment insurance from the original 3 per cent to 6½ per cent brought on serious political controversies within the major parties and even caused crises in the cabinet. The present régime of Chancellor Brüning has attempted to meet the difficulties encountered in financing unemployment insurance through the following three measures: (1) reducing the costs through eliminating misuse of the system, lowering of rates of benefits, and simplification of organization; (2) exclusion of numerous unemployed persons from unemployment insurance and also from emergency unemployment relief which is paid from funds supplied four-fifths by the national and one-fifth by the state and local governments (these emergency allowances were created in 1926 to serve as a transition to poor-relief for those no longer eligible to unemployment insurance and incorporated in the Employment Exchange and Unemployment Insurance Act of 1927);¹ (3) termination of the legal obligation of the national government to meet the deficit of the Institute for administering the Act through loans or grants.

These remedies have brought relief to the national government and have permitted balancing the national budget for 1931 without resort to increase of the already heavy tax rate.

Meanwhile, the cities and states have been compelled to make even larger grants to their public-welfare bureaus for the great streams of unemployed who require poor-relief (*Wohlfahrtserwerbslosen*). These necessitous people must be aided under the terms of the Public Welfare Act of February 13, 1924. Unlike the recipients of unemployment insurance, they have no legal claim to a fixed rate of unemployment assistance uniform throughout the nation and scaled according to previous wages. Rather, they are aided accord-

¹ Art. 101 of the Act reads: "During continued unfavorable employment conditions, the Minister of Labor upon consultation with the Administrative Council of the Institute for administering the Act can permit grant of emergency unemployment allowances. . . . This permission may be limited to specified occupations or districts."

ing to the extent of their necessity and on a scale set for each city or state by its respective public-assistance authorities. They may apply for such assistance if their unemployment benefits are inadequate; and while public assistance is usually less than unemployment benefits, it may be smaller in case of large families.

The public-assistance offices scale relief according to the number of children, adding from 13 to 25 marks a month for each child, according to the cost of living of the particular locality. Supplementary allowances in the unemployment-insurance system on the contrary are low. They are not designed to meet the added cost of maintaining the child but are a bonus similar to the family wage. They are based upon the previous wage rate of the recipient of unemployment benefit, and amount to between 1.70 and 10 marks (\$0.40-\$2.40) monthly for each child up to and including the fourth, when the maximum is reached. Families with five or more children receive no more than those with four. Consequently, the recipient of unemployment benefits who has a large family must often receive added assistance from public funds in the form of rent, clothing, shoes, aid in sickness, etc. Relief is given by the public-welfare authorities only upon proof of necessitous condition. Similarly, receipt of emergency unemployment allowance is conditional upon destitution. In such instances total family income and needs are checked, whereas grant of employment benefits rests solely upon the fact of legal claim, regardless of family income and whether or not others are employed. In other words, special public assistance to the unemployed is granted upon exactly the same terms as to all other necessitous poor. Unemployment insurance also differs from unemployment relief in the fact that the grant of the latter is conditional upon performance of work such as road-making or repair when so required by the public-welfare authorities.

Since the passage of the Act of 1927 the state and provincial governments have been wholly relieved of the cost of unemployment insurance or relief. The total expenditure for both unemployment insurance and relief amounted to more than 3,000,000,000 marks (\$720,000,000) for the year ending April, 1931. It was spent in the following manner:

Only about 2,600,000 of the 5,000,000 unemployed received un-

employment benefits. Another 900,000 were given emergency unemployment allowances. Of the remaining 1,500,000 people about 1,000,000 were aided by the cities, districts, and communes, while approximately 500,000 were unaided. The latter figure is an estimate based upon studies of the extent of unemployment on special days and may be too high. Of the 1,000,000 persons aided by the local governments, the so-called *Wohlfahrtserwerbslosen*, it was estimated on April 1, 1931, that about 600,000 were in the larger cities, 200,000 in the towns, and 230,000 in the agricultural districts. The cities were particularly affected because the unemployed flocked there, so that the number of unemployed receiving public assistance in the large cities rose from 250,000 to 600,000 in the course of the year 1930.

The rapid and continuous increase in *Wohlfahrtserwerbslosen* was caused by the attempts to reform the unemployment-insurance system and by the limitation of the responsibility of the national treasury to meet the deficit that accompanied the increase in the premium rate from 3 to 6½ per cent. These higher premium rates are expected to provide 1,680,000,000 marks (\$400,000,000) annually. This suffices to care for 1,750,000 recipients of standard benefits, allowing them 840 marks (\$200) a year, and to leave 200,000,000 marks (\$48,000,000) for employment upon public works, and to provide unemployment benefits to part-time workers, vocational education, clothing, tools, and traveling allowances to enable people to take jobs, and administrative expenses. However, it is possible that more than 1,750,000 persons will be eligible to standard benefits in 1931, calculations for previous years having been incorrect. The estimates for 1930 were 900,000, or 1,000,000 less than the actual number of persons eligible.

The reform of the unemployment-insurance system of necessity increases the drain upon emergency unemployment allowances and upon public assistance. The former required 530,000,000 marks (\$127,000,000) in 1930, funds being provided four-fifths by the national and one-fifth by the local funds. In October, 1930, government orders extended these emergency allowances to all groups except farm laborers and domestic servants who were included in unemployment insurance. At the same time they excluded persons

who had previously received these emergency allowances by virtue of having worked more than thirteen but less than twenty-six weeks in the year preceding loss of the job. Consequently, the new regulations but increased in another direction the burdens that they lightened. Furthermore, these allowances that had been granted for thirty-nine weeks and extended to fifty-two weeks in case of people over forty years of age were reduced to seven weeks' duration. No sooner had the new orders been issued than over 100,000 unemployed persons became ineligible for emergency unemployment allowance and had to be cared for by the local governments as *Wohlfahrtserwerbslosen*. This mass transference of care of necessitous unemployed persons from funds provided four-fifths by the national government to those wholly derived from the localities was twice postponed by the Association of German Municipalities,¹ but it was finally set for March 28, 1931. On April 1, 1931, all persons under forty years of age who had received emergency unemployment allowances for thirty-two weeks and all over forty years of age receiving benefits for forty-five weeks were at one stroke transferred to poor-relief.

These changes in grant of emergency unemployment allowances greatly augmented the number of *Wohlfahrtserwerbslosen*, so that by the end of February, 1931, there were 140,000 of them in Berlin, 24,000 in Hamburg, 20,000 in Leipzig, 19,000 in Cologne, 27,000 in Breslau, 16,000 in Chemnitz, 15,000 in Duisburg, and 16,000 in Dortmund. Assistance to them averaged 700 marks (\$170) annually, but amounted to 800-1,000 marks (\$195-\$240) in the larger cities. This meant an increase to the cities of many million marks over their appropriations for 1930, since the cities had set aside comparatively small sums for the *Wohlfahrtserwerbslosen*. In 1930 the larger cities appropriated 200,000,000 marks (\$48,000,000) for this necessitous group, while 600,000,000 marks (\$144,000,000) seems too low an estimate for 1931.

The three types of aid to the unemployed, viz., insurance, emergency allowances, and relief, will require 3,000,000,000 marks (\$720,000,000) in 1931, according to estimates. Of this sum 1,700,000,000 marks (\$400,000,000) are expected to go to insurance, 500,000,000 marks (\$120,000,000) to emergency allowances, and over 900,000,000

¹ In November, 1930, and January, 1931.

marks (\$216,000,000) to relief. These figures are rough estimates capable of wide modification through a few weeks' change in economic conditions.

The cities, it is hardly necessary to point out, cannot add 700,000,000 marks (\$168,000,000) to their appropriations or 400,000,000 marks (\$96,000,000) to their actual expenditures for the *Wohlfahrtserwerbslosen* in 1930 out of their own funds. The September, 1930, conference of the Association of German Municipalities brought out the fact that the new tax rate of 6 marks for every single citizen, 9 marks for a married couple, combined with high beer and liquor taxes, would not suffice to meet the added cost of unemployment relief. In most cities they would not cover the deficit for 1930 in spite of high business, income and property taxes. The additional income secured from head taxes and liquor taxes, which had previously been collected in some cities, however, have not appreciably relieved the situation. Nor have savings resulting from cutting salaries of municipal employees met a fraction of the excess in expenditures required for unemployment relief.

Real relief of the situation can come only through appreciable improvement of economic conditions and reinstatement of the majority of the unemployed into industry. This matter has been discussed by a special committee appointed by the government and meeting in April, 1931, under the chairmanship of Dr. Brauns, long minister of labor. Should the commission be able to set in motion forces leading to the return of workers to private employment, it would not result in immediate relief to the cities and agricultural districts, because the new employment opportunities would first be offered to recipients of unemployment insurance and emergency allowances. Only after them would the *Wohlfahrtserwerbslosen* and other unemployed persons be hired in enterprises opened up through the efforts of the national government or through negotiations with private employers. Sudden improvement of economic conditions, however, through governmental effort is hardly to be expected.

The national government seems determined upon thoroughgoing reorganization of the system of unemployment insurance and emergency unemployment allowances; but this does not help the cities

and local bodies. They have, through their Association of Municipalities, insistently demanded federal aid.

It has been suggested that the federal government share the cost of unemployment relief through a grant to every unemployed person of 1 or 2 marks for each day for which relief is required. For 1,000,000 unemployed persons this would amount to 365,000,000-730,000,000 marks (\$87,500,000-\$175,000,000) annually. It was further suggested that the localities be relieved of their fifth of the cost of emergency allowances. Both suggestions were refused by the government; nor could it probably have done otherwise in view of its own financial difficulties.

The only other recourse is a new distribution of all aid rendered unemployed persons aside from insurance, that is, of emergency allowances and unemployment relief. This could be accomplished by combining the two forms of aid into a national unemployment-relief scheme and dividing the costs between national, state, and local governments. The local governments think that the national and state governments should share the risks of unemployment relief and should form with the localities a Joint Risks Association, since they collect the important taxes and levy the tariff, and because it is their duty to combat such economic disaster and to bear its consequences. Such distribution is believed by the cities to be more equitable because those cities which experience the greatest unemployment must tax themselves most heavily at the very time when their industries are depressed, while other cities with more favorable economic conditions and fewer unemployed have lower taxes.

This demand for reorganization of unemployment relief and redistribution of its costs has given rise to three proposals for legislation, one from a member of the Reichstag, Dr. Breitscheid, one from the Association of Municipalities, and one from the Association of Agricultural Communities. All three are agreed in proposing the fusion of emergency allowances and unemployment relief. They do so because the localities can no longer unaided bear the costs of long-continued unemployment. They recommend that the support for this unemployment relief be provided one-half by the Reich and one-fourth each by states and localities. Furthermore, the Institute to enforce the Act of 1927 shall assume one-third of the burden fall-

ing upon the state whenever the average monthly number of recipients of unemployment relief exceeds 50 per cent of recipients of unemployment insurance. Thus the Reich would pay 725,000,000 marks (\$185,000,000) and the states and localities each 362,500,000 marks (\$142,500,000) of the 1,450,000,000 marks (\$370,000,000) estimated as needed in 1931 for unemployment relief. This would relieve the localities of over 600,000,000 marks (\$144,000,000), since their estimated expense for 1931 is 100,000,000 marks (\$24,000,000) for emergency unemployment allowances and 900,000,000 marks (\$216,000,000) for unemployment relief. It would increase by about 300,000,000 marks (\$72,000,000) to the Reich's outlay of 425,000,000 marks (\$102,000,000) for emergency allowances in 1930. It would add a new burden of 362,000,000 marks (\$87,000,000) to the states. The states are presumably strongly opposed to this. Estimate of their capacity to pay is difficult because of wide variations in size, population, and economic structure.

Unemployment insurance must care for as many persons as possible and as long as possible. It is a form of self-help in which payment of premiums gives claim to fixed benefits without reference to necessity or general economic conditions. Whenever claim to insurance is absent, or as soon as it lapses and premiums are not paid, legal claim is lacking and grant of relief is dependent upon proof of necessitous condition.

All three proposals for amending relief to persons ineligible to insurance require federal unemployment relief for the duration of need, that is, throughout uninsured unemployment. Necessitous unemployed persons shall not be excluded from aid as they are at present excluded from emergency allowances and turned over to communal poor-relief after a limited period of time. This new proposal is of great importance from the standpoint of equitable distributions of the costs of unemployment relief.

Further modification involves participation of the local authorities not only as at present in placement, where need of unified policy is evident, but also in administering unemployment compensation. Opinion, however, is divided as to location of this authority. Placements are made by the local divisions of the Institute for administering the Employment Exchange and Unemployment Insurance Act

of 1927. Two of the proposed amendments charge the local public-welfare offices with determining necessitous condition, which is prerequisite to receipt of unemployment relief, on the ground that they alone are equipped to make such investigations. This position was opposed by the commission of the Association of Municipalities on the ground that the local public-welfare bodies should not take over the responsibility of the Reich. Decision on this matter lies with the federal government and the Reichstag. This question is of lesser significance, in my opinion, than the creation of a single system of national unemployment relief participated in by federal, state, and local governments, with expenses of administration borne in part by the Reich, as suggested by the Association of Municipalities. These administrative expenses alone are heavy in many cities because of the great numbers of unemployed.

All three proposals define unemployment for which relief is to be given similarly to that which is insurable, viz., the person must be able and willing to work and involuntarily unemployed. Relief is to be confined to those who are also necessitous and who do not receive unemployment insurance, whether because they have exhausted claim to insurance or because they have not established such claim. Two of the proposals add relief to persons whose unemployment insurance is inadequate (because of number of dependents, severe sickness, etc.) and to previously independent entrepreneurs who have, without fault of their own, lost their business and are able to work and in search of employment.

The three proposals differ on the scale of assistance. Dr. Breitscheid suggests three wage classes based upon previous earnings and having maximum and minimum rates based upon number of dependents. The others utilize the public-welfare offices' standard budgets for dependent cases. The federal unemployment relief, however, is not designed to take over the task of public assistance, but to be a special form of relief based upon the special needs of able-bodied, necessitous persons, their occupational history and their future.

The proposed federal unemployment relief is not intended to carry out fully the principles and methods of public assistance, but to be a specialized type of aid for the able-bodied, necessitous un-

employed with a view to their occupational future. Should such relief be turned over to the localities, as the Association of Municipalities desires, there must be certain provisions for representing the point of view and interests of the federal government and the state, if the latter are to bear most of the financial burden. The states should have joint power with the local governments in making regulations; and, if they cannot come to agreement, the state proposals should have priority. The federal and state governments should appropriate funds for unemployment relief at the beginning of the fiscal year on the basis of estimates made according to industrial districts, types of localities, differences in cost of living, or other estimates made by the minister of labor. The federal government should also grant appropriations to assist in meeting the administrative expenses of the local public-welfare offices.

By virtue of its appropriations the federal government can exert considerable influence on general policies. The state, through raising or lowering appropriations, can regulate the methods of individual localities and can assure the necessities of living to recipients of unemployment relief. Such reorganization of unemployment should be accompanied by revision of settlement legislation to insure at least as much freedom of movement combined with right of assistance as is granted through the settlement act of 1867.

It does not seem essential to sound administration of unemployment relief to require the unemployed person to remain in a specific locality, such as his home or place of last employment. However, the migration from country districts to the large cities and industrial districts which intensifies the present acute unemployment should be reduced. To this end the Association of Municipalities recommends alteration of the Employment Exchange and Unemployment Insurance Act of 1927, which somewhat encourages moving by providing unemployment assistance whenever the person reports the fact of his unemployment to the exchange, rather than in the place where he lost his job. In order to discourage unemployed agricultural workers from flocking to the cities, the Association suggests that the labor offices in the larger cities limit unemployment relief to four weeks to applicants who have resided in that city for not more than three months and that, upon expiration of the four

weeks, relief should be given by the locality for at least three months within the previous year. This rule obtained in the provisions for unemployment relief which were in force until the Act of 1927 went into effect. Of course, the changed provision in the Act of 1927 is not responsible for the present "flight from the farm." No one expects the suggested changes to prevent agricultural laborers from flocking to the cities, but it may serve somewhat to check the movement.

The Association of Municipalities suggests that the courts of appeals contain representatives of the labor offices and the insured as at present but that in place of representatives of the employers' organization those from the public-welfare offices be substituted. This change is urged because of the heavy financial stake of the cities in the proposed scheme. Everyone who has had anything to do with unemployment insurance and unemployment relief in Germany in recent years is convinced that these amendments cannot counteract the effects of long-continued economic depression and unemployment. They can at best only alleviate the greatest suffering. Germans believe that unemployment insurance is essential to the completion of their system of social insurance and even more to political security. They have often incorrectly looked upon unemployment insurance as insurance of the propertied classes against radicalization of the masses through meeting the direst needs of persons eager to work who, in some cases, have not earned a penny by their labor for years. Real help for the unemployed can come only through improvement of economic conditions and elimination of the causes of depression. Such a program is not merely a German but an international question, far exceeding the province of social insurance but indissolubly linked with the problems that social insurance exposes.

HEINRICH PICK, *Burgomaster*

STETTIN, GERMANY

IMPRISONMENT FOR THE NONPAYMENT OF FINES IN CHICAGO

IMPRISONMENT for the nonpayment of fines is not a new policy. It can with little difficulty be traced back to the old practice of imprisonment for debt. Outwardly these two practices seem to have very little in common, since imprisonment for debt resulted from a civil court procedure involving two individuals, while imprisonment for the nonpayment of fine invariably results from a criminal or quasi-criminal court procedure in which the interests of the community presumably are at stake. In other respects, however, a striking similarity may be noted.

By having a debtor imprisoned and thus destroying his earning capacity and sacrificing his job if he had one, the creditor automatically removed the possibility of ever retrieving even a part of the sum owing him—except in the rare cases where a well-to-do relative or friend came to the rescue. Likewise, under a system that imprisons a man for nonpayment of a fine, the imprisoned person cannot be expected to pay back even a part of the fine assessed against him, since wages, job, and even morale are taken away.

Another point of similarity may be found in a very important fact which is frequently overlooked, namely, that the taxpayer is the ultimate loser. For the taxpayer is the unlucky victim who pays the bills for the "board and keep" of persons imprisoned for the nonpayment of fines, and had, as a contributor to the tax-collected funds, always played host to the imprisoned debtor. The economic loss to the families of these imprisoned persons and the suffering and disgrace endured by them need scarcely be mentioned.

A further point of resemblance relates to the "criminal" character of the persons imprisoned under these two systems. Few would now dispute the fact that persons who were imprisoned for debt were not really criminals but were forced to suffer the ignominy and hardship of imprisonment only because they were poor. Likewise, the more enlightened elements of our community are beginning to look upon persons imprisoned for inability to pay their fines not as criminals but rather as victims of poverty.

The only recent federal statistics available on the subject of imprisonment for nonpayment of fines were published by the Census Bureau in connection with a study made in 1923 of imprisoned offenders in the United States.¹ According to this study there were 155,918 persons imprisoned for the nonpayment of fines in 1923. This number represents 47 per cent of the total number of imprisoned offenders for that year. That is, nearly half of the very large bills paid by the taxpayers of this country for the maintenance of persons in prison were paid to support men who were committed by the courts not because of the offenses committed but for their poverty. A concrete example might clarify this concept somewhat. Let us assume that A and B are two persons who are found guilty on a disorderly conduct charge, and each receives a fine of \$25 and costs. A pays his fine and is set free. B, on the other hand, has been unemployed for some time with the result that he is unable to pay his fine. If he is in Chicago, he is thereupon committed either to the county jail or the house of correction to "work out" his fine. Both A and B violated a law; A, however, was in a position to pay for the privilege of breaking that law, while B did not have the wherewithal to pay for such a privilege. It is obvious, therefore, that the determining factor in B's imprisonment is not his crime but his poverty.

Of the total number of persons committed for the nonpayment of fines, 95 per cent, or a total of 155,852, were imprisoned in the insanitary minor prisons—the jails and workhouses. Of this last number 60,168, or 38.6 per cent, were committed for nonpayment of fines of ten dollars or less, while 93,740 were imprisoned for inability to pay fines of twenty dollars or less. When one attempts to visualize the story told by these figures in terms of the expense to the taxpayer involved in the handling of these prisoners, the degradation of the men themselves, and the untold suffering and privation endured by their families, he is struck by the stupidity of a system so wasteful of human values.

In the city of Chicago persons unable to pay their fines are committed to the house of correction to "work out" their fines. It is

¹ U.S. Census, *Prisoners: 1923. Crime Conditions in the United States as Reflected in Census Statistics of Imprisoned Offenders.*

commonly supposed that persons so committed earn their "board and keep" by their labor either inside or outside the institution. How far from the truth such a supposition is, was first pointed out by the 1910 Commission on City Expenditures. In their preliminary report on the house of correction the Commission pointed out that the per capita cost for "feeding, clothing, guarding and housing" the adult inmates of this institution for the year 1909 was "approximately 38 cents per day."¹ Five years later, in 1914, the Civil Service Commission made a study of prison labor and management of the house of correction. Again a story emerged of the enormous waste of the taxpayer's money. This report showed that the net expense to the taxpayer of maintenance at the bridewell for the year 1913 was \$226,624.27, or 35.06 cents per man per day.²

In the report of the City Council Committee on Crime in Chicago in 1915 it was found that more than 80 per cent of the commitments to the house of correction from 1910 to 1913 were for nonpayment of fines.³ In commenting on this situation the statistician for the Committee said "that this system, which virtually sends men to jail because of their poverty, is not only unjust but demoralizing to the individual and costly to the state is now becoming widely recognized." Extensive quotations are made from a number of court reports to prove the success of the so-called instalment-fine system as it was operating in various cities at that time. The conclusion reached was that Chicago would not be making a hazardous experiment if she released 85 per cent of the offenders in the house of correction, who are there for the nonpayment of fines, under the supervision of probation officers. This would enable such offenders to go back to work and to pay back their fines in small instalments, at the same time relieving the taxpayer of the burden of maintaining them in institutions.⁴ Unfortunately, very little was done by responsible

¹ *Preliminary Report on the House of Correction*. Submitted by the Chicago Commission on City Expenditures, October 10, 1910, pp. 5-6.

² *Prison Labor and Management House of Correction*. Report by the Civil Service Commission, City of Chicago, 1914, pp. 15-16 and 60. Cited by Edith Abbott in Part I, p. 38, of the *Report of the City Council Committee on Crime of the City of Chicago* (1915).

³ *Report of the City Council Committee on Crime of the City of Chicago* (1915), p. 37. Charles E. Merriam, chairman; Edith Abbott, statistician.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44. Largely as a result of the conditions revealed by this study, the legislature on June 28, 1915, amended the probation law making it possible for judges to

public officials to relieve the problem of imprisonment for nonpayment of fines despite the amazing facts presented by this study.

The subject was dealt with again in the report of the Cook County Jail Committee in 1921. The statistician for this Committee again called attention to the fact that the taxpayers of Chicago were being compelled to support the house of correction largely because the men sent there were too poor to pay the fines imposed upon them for minor offenses in the municipal court.¹

The statistics that follow bring the problem of the extent and character of imprisonment for nonpayment of fines down to the present time. An attempt is made to present a statistical picture of the problem over a period of thirty years. The data which are presented in five-year averages from 1902 to 1931 were prepared from published and unpublished annual reports of the house of correction.² These statistics again confirm the fact that the great majority of commitments to the house of correction are for nonpayment of fines.

Table I shows the number of persons committed annually to the house of correction by quinquennial averages and the reason for commitment; that is, how many and what percentage were imprisoned for nonpayment of fine, sentenced to imprisonment and fine, or sentenced to imprisonment without a fine.

This table shows that the average annual number of persons committed to the house of correction for the five-year period ending in 1931 was 16,865. Only a very small part of this number, 4.2 per

apply the instalment-fine system which included supervision of the offender by a probation officer while the fine was being paid out in small amounts (*Laws of Illinois*, 1915 sec. 4, p. 378).

¹ See *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XIII, No. 3 (November, 1922), 329-58, for a reprint of the statistical report for the Jail Committee, "Recent Statistics Relating to Crime in Chicago," by Edith Abbott. It is pointed out here that the situation had changed in 1921 as compared with 1915, since in the later year the remarkable results of the British Criminal Justice Administration Act of 1914 were available and showed the extremely beneficial results of the provision in that act which makes it mandatory on a magistrate to give a man eight clear days to pay his fine before committing him for nonpayment.

² The house of correction has not published a report since 1921. In the meantime the data for the years 1923 and 1926 have been lost, according to the chief clerk at the bridge-well. The courtesy of the present officials in permitting the use of records is gratefully acknowledged.

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cent, were committed on a straight sentence, while about one-fifth were committed on both sentence and a fine. The remaining 12,630, which comprised 74.9 per cent of the total commitments, were imprisoned in the house of correction solely because of nonpayment of fines.

It should be noticed that there is very little variation from one period to another in the percentage of persons committed for nonpayment of fines. The outstanding exception for this series is the

TABLE I
NUMBER OF PERSONS COMMITTED TO CHICAGO HOUSE OF CORRECTION BY QUIN-
QUENNIAL AVERAGES, 1902-31, BY REASON FOR COMMITMENT*

QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS ENDING	COMMITMENTS TO HOUSE OF CORRECTION: 1902-31						
	Total Number	Imprisoned for Non-payment of Fine		Sentenced to Imprisonment and Fine		Sentenced to Imprisonment without Fine	
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1906.....	8,669	8,129	93.8	23	.3	517	5.9
1911.....	12,149	10,266	84.5	789	6.5	1,094	9.0
1916.....	14,089	11,315	80.3	1,857	13.2	674	6.5
1921.....	9,005	6,280	69.8	1,867	20.7	858	9.5
1926†.....	16,468	13,258	80.2	2,387	14.6	823	5.2
1931‡.....	16,865	12,630	74.9	3,520	20.9	715	4.2

* Data does not include children committed on indefinite sentences by the juvenile court. Practice of committing children to bridewell was not discontinued until 1916.

† Averages based on 3 years only. Data for 1923 and 1926 not available.

‡ Averages based on 4 years. Data for 1931 not yet available.

quinquennial period ending in 1906, in which 93.8 per cent of all commitments to the house of correction were for nonpayment of fines. There are several possible explanations of this variation. The fact that most of the commitments to the house of correction were made by police magistrates and justices of the peace prior to 1906 may be one reason, since these petty officials for the most part derived at least part of their salary from fines paid for violations of city ordinances.¹ Another reason may be that in more recent years there has been an increase in the number of commitments on reduced criminal charges which usually carry with them both a fine and a

¹ The municipal court, established by law on July 1, 1905 (*Laws of Illinois, 1905, p. 159*), took over the functions exercised by these petty courts over quasi-criminal cases.

sentence.¹ The percentage of persons sentenced to imprisonment and fine rose from .3 per cent in 1906 to 20.9 per cent in 1931.

For the period ending 1921, 69.8 per cent of the total commitments were for nonpayment of fines. While this figure is not unusually low, as compared with previous years, it seems low enough to require some explanation. This quinquennium included the period of the war when a considerable number of the male population were overseas. For those remaining at home there was a tendency on the part of police officials to overlook many petty offenses which in average times would have led to an arrest and a fine. Lastly, a larger share of those who received fines had the means with which to pay them because of the general economic prosperity that prevailed.

In general, however, it should be noted that the percentage of persons imprisoned for nonpayment of fine has remained consistently high during the entire thirty-year period. In every quinquennium the percentage of the house of correction population imprisoned for fines has been more than two-thirds of the total number committed. An unwillingness on the part of responsible public officials to see the wastefulness and cruelty of this system characterized not one period but all of them.

Turning now to a more detailed examination of the problem of imprisonment for nonpayment of fines, we find that, for the most part, the taxpayers of Chicago have been maintaining persons at the house of correction for their inability to pay fines of small amounts.

Table II shows the distribution of commitments for the nonpayment of fines of specified amounts. The data for the quinquennial period ending in 1931 show that 1,604 persons were committed for nonpayment of a fine of five dollars or less, 378 for a fine of between five and ten dollars, and 2,626 for nonpayment of a fine of between ten and fifteen dollars. The sum of these three groups added to the 2,179 persons unable to pay a fine of between fifteen and twenty dollars, gives a total of 6,787 persons who were imprisoned for inability to pay a fine of twenty dollars or less. The figures for the other years give practically the same picture in this respect.

¹ For a detailed account of the present-day practice on the part of the state's attorney in effecting "compromises" with criminals, i.e., the criminal pleading guilty to a reduced charge, see Part I of the *Illinois Crime Survey*, 1929, or *Our Criminal Courts* (New York, 1930) by Raymond Moley.

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Table III shows the per cent distribution of commitments to the house of correction for nonpayment of fines of specified amounts. A gradual but steady rise in the percentage of persons committed for inability to pay a fine of five dollars or less can be noted. The range is from 3.8 per cent to 12.9 per cent. During the quinquennium ending in 1906 more people were unable to pay a fine of between twenty and thirty dollars than of any other amounts. During the other years the amount of the fine which persons most frequently could not

TABLE II
QUINQUENNIAL AVERAGES OF COMMITMENTS TO CHICAGO HOUSE OF CORRECTION FOR NONPAYMENT OF FINES OF SPECIFIED AMOUNTS, 1902-31

AMOUNT OF FINE	AVERAGE FOR QUINQUENNium ENDING IN					
	1906	1911	1916	1921	1926*	1931†
Total	8,129	10,212	11,176	6,178	13,062	12,395
\$5.00 and less	394	390	894	426	1,613	1,604
5.01-10.00	1,083	1,727	1,082	646	1,456	378
10.01-15.00	1,614	2,014	2,059	1,347	3,793	2,626
15.01-20.00	655	1,924	2,109	1,117	2,165	2,179
20.01-30.00	2,101	815	636	213	374	399
30.01-40.00	104	1,596	1,876	891	1,556	2,744
40.01-50.00	18	172	60	14	28	18
50.01-75.00	1,040	704	949	460	662	1,128
75.01-100.00	611	233	138	27	806	814
100.01 and more	509	577	1,373	1,037	609	505

* Averages based on 3 years only. Data for 1923 and 1926 not available.
† Averages based on 4 years. Data for 1931 not yet available.

pay, and for which they were imprisoned, usually fell between ten and fifteen dollars. An outstanding exception is the quinquennium ending in 1931. While the per cent imprisoned for inability to pay a fine of from ten to fifteen dollars was large—21.2—the per cent committed for nonpayment of a fine of between thirty and forty dollars is slightly larger.

In Table IV the same data are presented in slightly different form to show cumulative percentages of commitments for nonpayment of fines of specified amounts.

This table shows more vividly than any table thus far presented the fact that the overwhelming majority of commitments to the house of correction for nonpayment of fines are for fines of small

amounts. For the quinquennium ending in 1931, 12.9 per cent of the total commitments for nonpayment of fines were for nonpayment

TABLE III
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF COMMITMENTS TO CHICAGO HOUSE OF CORRECTION
FOR NONPAYMENT OF FINES OF SPECIFIED AMOUNTS, BY
QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS, 1902-31

AMOUNT OF FINE	AVERAGE FOR QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS ENDING IN					
	1906	1911	1916	1921	1926*	1931†
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
\$ 5.00 and less.....	4.8	3.8	8.0	6.9	11.5	12.9
5.01-10.00.....	13.3	16.9	9.7	10.5	12.1	3.1
10.01-15.00.....	19.9	19.7	18.4	21.8	28.1	21.2
15.01-20.00.....	8.1	18.8	18.9	18.1	17.1	17.6
20.01-30.00.....	25.8	8.0	5.7	3.5	3.0	3.2
30.01-40.00.....	1.3	15.6	16.8	14.4	11.9	22.1
40.01-50.00.....	.2	1.7	.5	.2	.2	.1
50.01-75.00.....	12.8	7.5	8.5	7.4	5.1	9.1
75.01-100.00.....	7.5	2.3	1.2	.4	6.2	6.6
100.01 and more.....	6.3	5.7	12.3	16.8	4.8	4.1

* See footnote to Table II.

† See footnote to Table II.

TABLE IV
CUMULATIVE PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF COMMITMENTS TO CHICAGO HOUSE OF
CORRECTION FOR NONPAYMENT OF FINES OF SPECIFIED AMOUNTS,
BY QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS, 1902-31

AMOUNT OF FINE	CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGES FOR QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS ENDING IN					
	1906	1911	1916	1921	1926*	1931†
\$ 5.00 and under.....	4.8	3.8	8.0	6.9	11.5	12.9
10.00 and under.....	18.1	20.7	17.7	17.4	23.6	16.0
15.00 and under.....	38.0	40.4	36.1	39.2	51.7	37.2
20.00 and under.....	46.1	59.2	55.0	57.3	68.8	54.8
30.00 and under.....	71.9	67.2	60.7	60.8	71.8	58.0
40.00 and under.....	73.2	82.8	77.5	75.2	83.7	80.1
50.00 and under.....	73.4	84.5	78.0	75.4	83.9	80.2
75.00 and under.....	86.2	92.0	86.5	82.8	89.0	89.3
100.00 and under.....	93.7	94.3	87.7	83.2	95.2	95.9
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* See footnote to Table II.

† See footnote to Table II.

of a fine of five dollars or less, 16.0 per cent for a fine of ten dollars or less, 37.2 per cent for a fine of fifteen dollars or less, 54.8 per cent

for a fine of twenty dollars or less, and 58.0 per cent for inability to pay a fine of thirty dollars or less. A glance at the figures for the entire thirty-year period shows relatively little variation in the percentage of persons imprisoned for nonpayment of fines of various amounts. An average of the entire thirty years reveals that approximately 57 per cent of the commitments for nonpayment of fines were for nonpayment of fines of twenty dollars or less, while for the same period 65 per cent were imprisoned for failure to pay fines of thirty dollars or less.

To summarize the material relating to nonpayment of fines, the following facts should, perhaps, be emphasized.

1. A very small percentage of the large number of persons annually committed to the house of correction are committed for sentences only, a slightly larger percentage are committed on both fines and sentences, while the great majority of commitments, a group totaling well over 80 per cent on the average, are for nonpayment of fines.

2. The majority of commitments to the house of correction for nonpayment of fines are for nonpayment of fines of relatively small amounts. For the entire thirty-year period the average annual commitments for the nonpayment of fines of twenty dollars or less is 57 per cent, while 65 per cent of the commitments are for nonpayment of fines of thirty dollars or less.

3. Despite the fact that imprisonment for nonpayment of fines has been a practice in Chicago for a great many years, nothing of any value has been done toward the alleviation, let alone solution, of the problem. A system which allows the imprisonment of persons virtually for their poverty only, which is demoralizing to the imprisoned persons, unjust to their families, and costly to the state, certainly warrants closer attention by responsible, socially minded persons than has been given to it up to the present time.

MAX STERN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

SOURCE MATERIALS

THE FIRST PUBLIC WELFARE ASSOCIATION

EDITORIAL NOTE

IN CONNECTION with the publication of the proceedings of the first annual meeting of the Association of Public Welfare Officials, it seems appropriate to publish at the same time an extract from the proceedings of the first "Conference of Boards of Public Charities," which met in New York in 1874. This organization afterward became the National Conference of Charities and Correction and, still later, the National Conference of Social Work.

The *Review* is happy, also, to publish an early portrait of Frank Sanborn, of Massachusetts, who was largely responsible for the organization of what may be called the first public welfare conference. In 1863 Mr. Sanborn became the first secretary of the first state board of charities—that of Massachusetts—and the portrait (frontispiece) is from a photograph of a crayon drawing¹ made about the time when he began his pioneer work for the pioneer state board in this country. In 1874 Mr. Sanborn was general secretary of the American Social Science Association, under whose wing the Conference of the State Boards was assembled. A Department of Social Economy had been organized in the American Social Science Association, and it was under the auspices of this department that the Conference of State Boards was assembled. There were in 1874 nine state boards, but only four of them were represented at the meeting of 1874. It was, of course, difficult for the western members to attend a meeting held in New York City, and some of the western boards preferred regional conferences to eastern meetings.

The new emphasis in recent years on the importance of the vari-

¹ This portrait of Mr. Sanborn, who was also the eighth president of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, is taken from his *Recollections of Seventy Years* (Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1909), I, 188.

ous forms of public social service has led to a new interest in public welfare organization. The continuous development of the state welfare services over a period of nearly seventy years is evidence of the permanent character of these great state departments for social welfare.

The following extract is from the report of the proceedings of the first "Conference of the Boards of Public Charities in the United States," published in the *Journal of Social Science* in 1874.

The First Conference of Boards of Public Charities¹
Held at New York, May 20 and 22, 1874

In accordance with an invitation extended to the Boards of Public Charities in the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Wisconsin, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Kansas, a Conference of these Boards was held on May 20th. At first, only delegates of these Boards and members of the Executive Committee of the Association were present; but after the organization, on motion of Dr. Bishop, the reporters were admitted, and members of the Association or others having experience in the matters discussed were invited to take part in the Conference. Hon. J. V. L. Pruyn, President of the New York Board, was appointed Chairman, and F. B. Sanborn, delegate from the Massachusetts Board, was chosen Secretary. There were also present from the New York Board, Dr. Nathan Bishop, of New York; William P. Letchworth, Esq., of Buffalo; Hon. Samuel F. Miller, of Delaware County, and Dr. Charles S. Hoyt, of Albany, the Secretary. The State Board of Wisconsin was represented by Hon. Henry H. Giles, the President, and Mrs. W. P. Lynde, a member of the Wisconsin Board of Charities; and Connecticut by Mrs. Mariette E. Pettee, Secretary of the State Board of Connecticut. A dispatch was received from George L. Harrison, Esq., of Philadelphia, President of the Pennsylvania Board, announcing that his attendance was prevented.

Letters were read from the Boards of Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Kansas. The city Board of New York, which had been invited, was occupied with a public investigation during the sessions of the Conference, and was not represented therein; but gentlemen representing the State Charities Aid Association and the Bureau of Charities in New York City were present.

¹ From *Journal of Social Science Containing the Transactions of the American Association*, No. VI (July, 1874), pp. 60-96; No. VII (September, 1874), 374-407.

The first subject considered was, "The Duty of the States toward the Insane Poor," upon which Dr. J. B. Chapin, of the Willard Asylum for the Insane, at Willard, New York, made some brief remarks [which concluded as follows]:

A word is necessary on the subject of the maintenance of the insane, and here, again, we are confronted with the financial aspect of the question. In those States where the expense of maintenance of the insane poor is a direct charge upon the counties or towns, there is a manifest reluctance, except in extreme cases, to transfer them to the state asylums, where the views as to their requirements differ, and the expense is greater than in the county poor-houses. We do not believe the differences which prevail on this point can be reconciled except by positive legislation. In conclusion, we deem it of the highest importance that entire harmony should exist and be cultivated between the boards of public charities of the several States, and the medical profession, as to the best policy to be pursued.

In these remarks Dr. Chapin was understood to express the views not only of himself, but of the trustees of his asylum, which is a large State establishment, with more than 800 patients, chiefly of the chronic insane. One of these trustees, Mr. Darius A. Ogden, of Penn Yan, N.Y., was present, and took part in the debate which followed the remarks of Dr. Chapin.

The Secretary, Mr. Sanborn, submitted a copy of an act lately passed in Pennsylvania, giving the Board of Charities in that State power to transfer the insane poor, who are found neglected or abused in almshouses and prisons, to the State hospitals and asylums, where they will be under medical supervision. This statute, and the others given on another page, grew out of the controversial discussion of the treatment of the insane poor in Pennsylvania, which was carried on last winter between the State Board of Charities and the superintendents of State establishments for the insane. Taken together, Mr. Sanborn said they give Mr. Harrison and his colleagues substantially the same powers and duties as were imposed on the Massachusetts Board by a law of 1864. In the discussion which followed it was evident that the experience of other States in regard to the chronic insane poor has been, or is becoming, very similar to that of Massachusetts.

Mention was made in this connection of the asylum for chronic insane attached to the great State Almshouse at Tewksbury, Mass., and of the excessive mortality among its inmates in the year 1873. The whole number under treatment being 435, during the year ended October 1, 1873, not less than 60 had died, or nearly 14 per cent of the whole number.

Various causes had been assigned for this mortality, but it had been found that there was a lack of proper medical supervision and of sanitary provision for the patients; and, this evil having been exposed and in part remedied by the Board of Charities, the mortality had much declined during the past seven months. Mrs. Pettee spoke of the generally good condition of the Connecticut Hospital for the Insane Poor at Middletown, and Mrs. Lynde related some instances of neglect which had come under her notice in the county almshouses of Wisconsin. Dr. Bishop spoke in condemnation of the present costly architecture of establishments for the poor, both the sane and the insane; and, upon his motion, a committee of five was appointed to consider and report upon the subject of Buildings for the Indoor Poor. This committee consists of Dr. Nathan Bishop of New York, Chairman; Mrs. Lynde of Wisconsin, Dr. Diller Luther, Secretary of the Pennsylvania Board of Charities; Rev. F. H. Wines, Secretary of the Illinois Board, and Mr. D. A. Ogden, of the Willard Asylum, New York.

In opening the debate on the second topic considered by the Conference, *The Laws of Pauper Settlement, and the Best Mode of Administering Poor-law Relief*, Mr. Sanborn, the Secretary, submitted two Reports from Departments of the Association. The first, from the Department of Jurisprudence, related to the Settlement Laws of Massachusetts. . . .

The second Report submitted was read the afternoon of Friday, May 22d, when it was ably discussed in the General Meeting of the Association. This report on "Pauperism in the City of New York" was prepared by the Committee of the New Department of Social Economy [of the American Social Science Association] and was read by Dr. Robert T. Davis, of Fall River, Massachusetts, a member of the Committee.¹ It is signed by all the members of the Committee; but it is proper to state that the original draft was prepared by Charles L. Brace, Esq., of New York; and that the modifications made by the Committee affected chiefly the general statements of the Report, and not those relating to last winter's experience in New York, in regard to which Mr. Brace is a very competent witness. Appended to this paper will be found an imperfect record of the debate concerning it, in the General Meeting.

Mr. J. W. Skinner, of the Children's Aid Society, New York, next spoke, dwelling chiefly upon out-door relief. Pauperism was like an ulcer which gradually undermined the health of the body politic. Wherever out-door relief had

¹ The report is signed by W. B. Rogers, Chairman; Dr. S. G. Howe, Charles L. Brace, Mrs. S. Parkman, Mrs. Henry Whitman, John Ayres, Lucy Ellis, George S. Hale, Charles F. Coffin, Robert T. Davis, F. B. Sanborn, Secretary.

been put in practice, pauperism, so far from being checked, had invariably continued to increase faster than before. The only systematic and well-working charity was that which was accompanied by work. But it was the prevention not the cure of the disease that was the primary consideration, and the speaker believed that the only possible way of checking pauperism was by educating the lower classes.

Dr. Nathan Bishop did not think compulsory education would be successful. He spoke of what he called the street schools,—academies where children learned to repeat a fearful catalogue of home suffering. There were thousands of children in this city who went from door to door repeating the sorrows of their home, the suffering, the poverty of their parents. They went to the kitchens, and the servants believed their stories. These children were taught daily lessons of this kind of story-telling by men and women who profited by their gains; and the result was, that at least 6,000 children were every day going about in this way, becoming chronic liars, and getting schooled in crime and vice of all kinds. When they grew up, what were they going to do? They dropped into the worst forms of degradation. They made up the worst of our dangerous classes in the end. Then there were the children who beg in the street. He illustrated the evil of this street-begging by telling how, one winter's day, he had met two little girls, bare-legged and ragged, begging. He noticed several gentlemen give them money, and he asked them several questions, and finally told a policeman that he thought they were impostors, and that they had shoes and stockings hidden in the neighborhood. This, on investigation, was found to be true, and their shoes and stockings and shawls were discovered under a near-by woodpile. This kind of deception, he said, was very prevalent in the city. It was a kind that did more than anything else to swell the current of vice and crime and pauperism in the city. His advice was not to give anything to the street-beggars, or to those who called at the doors of dwellings. Let those in want go to the regular places of charity. Then, again, never listen to those who meet you in rags at night time, or call at your doors, complaining and whimpering and asking for aid. In 999 cases out of 1000 they were frauds who followed this way to make a living, and who, in the day-time, went about well dressed.

Dr. Hall was asked to give the result of the attempt made last winter to establish in New York a bureau of charities, and did so briefly, saying that the principal obstacles to the success of the bureau were the unwillingness of one large society to assist it, owing to a misunderstanding of its objects, and the opposition of a large religious denomination. It was to ferret out impostors and to make charity reach only those who were in real need, that the Bureau of Charities was established,—a sort of clearing house of charities. The great majority of the charitable institutions responded to the plans of the bureau; but there were a few which refused to cooperate. No one could have walked the streets during the past winter without being struck with what is very humiliating,—the observation that this city is rapidly travelling in the track of the worst capitals of Europe, in the direction of abundant street paupers. Many

of them are of the fancy kind, made up for effect, purely spectacular, intended to operate upon the generous sympathies of the people at the moment. Others are quasi beggars,—among them the street musicians. When I think of the many poor boys and girls who are being trained in that way in this city, educated in the worst direction, I must anticipate a crop of the most adroit thieves and the most abandoned women within the next few years. I find that one society, admirable in its principles and organization, whose operations extend over the whole of the city, states in its printed report that there were 20,000 persons, impostors, in this city living by the misdirected charity of the city. We have the Commissioners of Charities and Correction to look after paupers and criminals,—a most unfortunate grouping,—who expend \$1,250,000 per year. We have the Commissioners of Emigration to attend, with certain restrictions, to those who come to our shores, who expend over \$600,000 per year. There is more than \$1,750,000 per year. But take the 20,000 who are living by fraud and imposture. These people live very comfortably. It is very low to put their living at a dollar per day. That makes over \$7,000,000 a year going into the hands of the most degraded and corrupting class in the community. What is our reward? These clever, cunning, degraded people, despise and laugh at us, and think that our very Christianity is something that only gets hold of people who are a little soft in the brain. Men have very much to unlearn, and then much to learn, before they will get courage to persevere; and then, though they may not accomplish all they desire, they bequeath a trust to their fellow-creatures for them to carry out.

Mrs. Caroline H. Dall, of Boston, moved that the paper be printed as a pamphlet in an edition so large and a form so cheap as to permit of its being widely circulated gratuitously. In speaking for Boston, she fully indorsed all that had been set forth as resulting from the ill-organized method of distributing alms, and cited instances as coming within her own experience immediately after the Boston fire, and during the late distress among the poor.

Dr. Davis said that inasmuch as so much commendation was bestowed upon this paper, he felt it his duty to state that he had not prepared the paper himself, and that it had been simply revised by the committee of which he was a member.

Mr. Robert H. McCurdy spoke of the progress of pauperism in this city since he was a young man. In 1833, he lived on Fifth Avenue, near Tenth Street, and in the neighborhood was an immense number of shanties. Great poverty existed among the inmates, and it was traced to the same cause which is now really the cause of pauperism—the rum shops. Everybody in those days drank freely, and in all the social customs of the day liquor was never wanting. Rum was really at the bottom of all our poverty, and when we swept away the rum shops we would have undermined the pauperism and made a clear and bright way for a better future for that class of people who are now suffering from want and misery.

Mr. James M. Barnard, of Boston, also spoke, relating some of his European observations on pauperism in Italy and Germany at different periods.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

During the first session of the Conference a committee was appointed, consisted of F. B. Sanborn, of Massachusetts, W. P. Letchworth, of New York, and Henry H. Giles, of Wisconsin, to report a plan for the Uniformity of Statistics, and a better cooperation among the Board of Charities throughout the United States. At the second session, on Friday, May 22, this committee made a preliminary report, to the effect that it was desirable to have the statistics of pauperism, crime, insanity, and the other topics discussed in the board's reports, made as completely as possible upon a uniform plan, and include a general statement of all the facts for the whole State in which the report is published, and asked further time to prepare a form for use by the different boards. It was also reported that a plan for better cooperation between boards could not be prepared without some correspondence with all the boards; and further time was asked for, which was granted. It was stated that a conference in the spring of 1875, at Buffalo or Detroit, had been proposed, and would probably be called. Dr. Bishop, for the Committee on Public Buildings for the Poor, the Insane, etc., made a preliminary report setting forth the present evils of extravagant architecture, and asking time for the preparation of a more complete report, which was voted. It was also voted that the Chair appoint a committee of five to consider the condition of destitute and delinquent children, and the prevention of pauperism.

In the debate on Dr. Bishop's report, the latter spoke of the unsatisfactory condition and unsuitableness of the buildings now used for the detention and cure of insane persons, and of the amount of money expended on them.

Mr. Sanborn spoke of the plan in Massachusetts to build a new state prison at a cost of \$2,000,000 when it was quite useless to expend so much money upon that object. Dr. Bishop spoke of the bad influence of giving the rascals and rogues who were preying upon society better accommodations than honest men. Dr. Stephen Smith said one essential point was, that each building,—hospital, prison, or reformatory,—should be built with a regard to the peculiar wants of the class for which it was designed. Many of those in New York had failed, particularly the inebriate asylum, for the reason that they were too much like prisons. Mr. Letchworth, of Buffalo, defended the expenditure of the public money on public institutions. . . .

THE STATISTICS OF CRIME AND PAUPERISM

The committee appointed at the Conference of Boards of Charities to consider a plan for uniformity of Statistical Reports have met since the

Conference and considered a form of Questions and some suggestions relating thereto, prepared by Dr. Harris, of New York, and submitted to the Committee by Mr. Letchworth, of the New York Board of Charities. Although it is doubtful how far these questions can be generally used in all the States, the Committee have printed them, for the public information, along with the concise and clear summary of the subject by Dr. Harris. . . .

EXPLANATIONS OF THE QUESTIONS

(Extracts from the Correspondence of ELISHA HARRIS, M.D., Cor. Sec'y of the Prison Association, with the Board of Charities of the State of New York.)

NEW YORK, May 30, 1874.

As the Executive Committee of the Prison Association, on Thursday evening last approved and ordered the circular and a schedule of inquiries for use of all Prison Committees, I have so framed the whole as to make the points we seek, in this field to correspond, and to be pressed forward with inquiries to be made by the State Boards of Charities, as I hope their schedules of points will provide. It will be apparent that no statistics which have been gathered in your Reports of 1872, or 1873, will be of any use to guide the needed inquiry into causes and increase of pauperism, etc. The question is, what is the pathway by which each person arrived at the state of misfortune and dependence?

As in our inquiries (for the Prison Association) into sources of crime, we must go back to the home and the two preceding generations of parentage, so in the record of misfortune and dependence, the physical, mental, moral and social defects are linked with nearly all personal histories found closing up the series of woes at the doors of the Almshouse and the Asylum. The educational and early disciplining and industrial record of every inmate whose history is accessible in the Almshouses and the Asylums and Refuges, will need to be obtained, and upon that basis of twenty thousand individual records, in sixty counties in which an expert physician or educator has given attention to every record, conclusions can be reached which will command the attention and study of the world. It will be too great a task for any one mind to frame and inspire those inquiries; but what is worth doing at all in this field is worth doing well.

June 5th, 1874

It has given me some pleasure to arrange the outlines of a system, for an inquiry into the causes that produce increase of pauperism, insanity, idiocy and crime. The final draft of a *method*, and the requisite questions and forms, have been completed in a shape that would enable all thoughtful citizens to see that certain investigations are practicable, though no State in America has ever attempted such inquiry in a thorough manner. Our new Schedule of Inquiry into Causes of Crime, is in harmony with the outlines I have sketched for inquiry into the Causes of Dependence, for the consideration of your Board. . . .

In transmitting the above papers to the Secretary of this Association, Mr. Letchworth, of the New York Board of Charities, wrote as follows, on the 24th of June:

Dr. Elisha Harris, Secretary of the Prison Association of New York, has been engaged in preparing a set of inquiries into the causes of crime. His questions have been approved, I believe, by the Executive Committee of the Prison Association, and will before long be issued to their committees. The State Board of Charities of New York have decided to make an examination into the causes of pauperism in this State, basing their work upon the fifteen thousand inmates in the various poorhouses and almshouses in the State. The inquiry will go back to parents and grandparents of each subject. This will be a laborious work, involving the directing of not less than six hundred thousand separate questions. The Legislature have made an appropriation to aid in carrying this work out. As it was considered desirable that whatever tables should be made, should be comparative with the work carried on by the Prison Association, Dr. Harris was asked to outline a plan for our work and it is now being printed in such a form as to admit of revision and for the purpose of submitting it to others interested; a copy or copies of it will be sent you in a few days. My object now is to call your attention to what I deem the great importance of your taking immediate action as the Chairman of the Committee appointed by the various State Boards at the last convention of the American Social Science Association, to bring about harmony in the work of gathering statistics by the various State Boards. The work done in this State will probably not be gone over again for many years, and it seems to me of the greatest importance, that it should be comparative with whatever may be done hereafter in other States; and while steps are being taken to harmonize action in the work upon pauperism and crime, with due energy, it seems to me *all* the work to be done this year might be harmonized and made comparative. It has seemed to me that the only way to bring this desirable result about would be for you to correspond with and call together the Secretaries of the various State Boards, and after you have agreed upon a plan among yourselves, to submit it to the various Boards for approval, and have what is done this year done in a way it should be, instead of waiting for another year, when there will not be the incentive to unity that there now is in view of the great work to be undertaken this year in the State of New York. Some of my colleagues incline to the opinion that uniformity of action can be brought about only with reference to the work relating to the *causes* of pauperism, insanity and crime; but I am strongly of the belief, that by prompt and decisive action all the work of the various Boards for this year may be brought into harmony. If it should be found that the plan for uniform action is not perfect, improve it next year. This will be better, I think, than to expect to make a perfect plan now. It is probable that after the Boards get working all together, modifications will need to be made in their plans every year. I sincerely hope you will deem this subject worthy of your earnest and prompt consideration.

In transmitting this letter to the Secretaries of the State Boards, the General Secretary wrote thus to each:—

I have copied this letter in order that your Board may understand the general nature of the New York investigations, before the forms and questions themselves come to hand. Meantime, permit me to ask you a few questions.

1. To what extent can the statistics of *your State* in regard to pauperism, insanity, and crime be made *complete*, so as to show what is the actual amount of those evils in your State?

2. To what extent can they be made uniform with those of Massachusetts, as given in the Reports of the Board of Charities in that State, or with a fuller and better method, if such is known to you?

3. To what extent can this be done in your next report?

The replies to this communication, and the general subject of Dr. Harris's forms, and the feasibility of adopting them, came before a meeting of the Committee held at Buffalo, on the 18th of July, and a report embodying the conclusions of the Committee will probably appear in the next number of the *Journal*, along with a preliminary report from the Committee of which Dr. Bishop is chairman. . . .

In concluding this preliminary report on a question of infinite detail and of great and growing importance, your Committee would call attention to the fact that the average number of convicts in the United States is now nearly double what it was ten years ago, as appears by the carefully prepared statistics of Dr. Wines, the Secretary of the National Prison Association, and that a considerable part of this increase in punished crime is due, more or less directly, to the late civil war. It was an old saying in France in the days of the Fronde, that "War makes thieves and Peace brings them to the gallows," and now that we have substituted imprisonment for the gallows, the end of the civil war naturally fills up our prisons. They are crowded, and with a class of convicts among whom are many that might be reformed. In the convict prisons of Ireland, under a system of punishment, labor, and instruction, judiciously blended and ably administered, the number of convicts has decreased from 4,000 in 1854, to less than 1,200 in 1874. We cannot hope for so great a diminution of crime in our rapidly growing country, but we ought at least to prevent it from gaining upon the natural increase of our population, as has been the case for at least ten years past.

F. B. SANBORN
JOHN AYRES

COMMITTEES OF THE NEW YORK MEETING

Some report has been made of the action taken by the Committees appointed at the New York meeting in May. That of which Dr. Bishop is Chairman, is engaged in its work, but will make no report until 1875.

The Committee on Destitute and Delinquent Children, as appointed by Dr. Smith, Chairman of the Conference of May 22, consists of Samuel D. Hastings, Madison, Wis., *Chairman*, Charles L. Brace, of New York, Mrs. W. P. Lynde, of Milwaukee, George L. Harrison, of Philadelphia, and Rev. Horatio Wood, of Lowell, Mass. They have power to fill vacancies and to add to their own number, and are to report in 1875.

The Committee on Uniformity of Statistics, appointed at the Conference of Boards of Public Charities, May 20, has been considering the subject ever since that time, and on the 9th of September, reported in part at a special Conference of Secretaries of the State Boards of Charities, convened at the rooms of the Prison Association in New York, (58 Bible House, Astor Place). Their report was accepted, the forms of questions therein proposed were adopted by the Boards represented, and the Committee undertook to consider another statistical subject, in regard to the Insane In Hospitals; upon a suggestion made by Dr. Luther, Secretary of the Pennsylvania Board of Charities.

The following is the

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed at the New York Conference of Boards of Charities in May last, to consider and report a plan for uniformity of statistics of pauperism and crime, and for better cooperation among the Boards of Public Charities, have attended to that duty, and would report in part as follows:—

I. THE EXISTING BOARDS OF PUBLIC CHARITY

It appears that there are at present in the United States nine State boards or commissions charged with the general oversight of charitable work in the States where they exist. These boards, named in the order of seniority, are:—

1. The Massachusetts Board of State Charities, established in 1863.
2. The New York State Board of Charities, established in 1867.
3. The Rhode Island Board of State Charities and Corrections, established in 1869.
4. The Pennsylvania Board of Commissioners of Public Charities, established in 1869.
5. The Illinois Board of State Commissioners of Public Charities, established in 1869.
6. The Wisconsin State Board of Charities and Reform, established in 1871.
7. The Michigan Board of State Commissioners for the supervision of the Penal, Pauper, and Reformatory Institutions, established in 1871.
8. The Connecticut State Board of Charities, established in 1873.
9. The Kansas Board of Commissioners of Public Institutions, established in 1873.

The present officers and members of these boards are as follows:—

1. *Massachusetts*

Dr. Samuel G. Howe, Boston, *Chairman*; F. B. Sanborn, Concord; S. C. Wrightington, Fall River, *General Agent*; Sidney Andrews, Boston, *Secretary*.

2. *New York*

John V. L. Pruyn, Albany, *President*; William P. Letchworth, Buffalo, *Vice-President*; Dr. Charles S. Hoyt, Albany, *Secretary*.

3. *Rhode Island*

George I. Chace, Providence, *Chairman*; William W. Chapin, Providence, *Secretary*; *Superintendent of State Charities and Corrections*, George W. Wightman, Providence.

4. *Pennsylvania*

George L. Harrison, Philadelphia, *Chairman*; Diller Luther, M.D., Reading, *Secretary*.

5. *Illinois*

S. M. Church, Rockford, Illinois, *President*; Rev. F. H. Wines, Springfield, Illinois, *Secretary*.

6. *Wisconsin*

Hiram H. Giles, Madison, *President*; A. C. Parkinson, Madison, *Secretary*.

7. *Michigan*

Charles I. Walker, Detroit, *Chairman*; Charles M. Crosswell, Adrian, *Secretary*.

8. *Connecticut*

Benjamin Stark, New London, *Chairman*; Mrs. Mariette R. Pettee, West Meriden, *Secretary*.

9. *Kansas*

C. S. Brodbent, Wellington, *Chairman*.

II. THE FORMS FOR STATISTICAL INQUIRY

It is proposed that all these Boards shall unite in answering [certain] questions in their next published reports.

[A list of inquiries to be answered in the Annual Reports of the Boards of Public Charities, beginning with the Reports for the year 1874, then in preparation, are included under six heads as follows:]

- I. The Powers and Duties of the Boards Themselves.
- II. The Number of Public Dependents.
- III. The Cost of Public Charity and Correction.
- IV. The Public Provision for Blind, Deaf Mute and Idiotic Persons.
- V. Hospital Provision for the Sick.

- VI. Private Charities [under which head the secretaries were instructed to "estimate the sums expended in private charity in your State by organized societies, and the annual number of their beneficiaries, classifying the same as clearly as possible, and excluding educational charities, except for the benefit of the classes named above."]

III. REMARKS ON THE QUESTIONS

It will be noticed that the above questions apply to each State in which a Board of Charities exists, and are intended to elicit such statements in the next Reports of these Boards as will present all the material facts of a general nature in regard to Pauperism, Insanity and Crime, and their cost to the State for which the Report is made. It is not expected that all the questions can be exactly answered, but it is hoped that where definite statistics cannot be given for the whole State, a careful estimate will be made, under each head, and, if possible, in reply to each question. Even in cases where, as in the State of New York, the Board of Charities divides with the Commissioners of Emigration, the Lunacy Commissioner, and the Prison Association, the supervision of charitable and penal establishments, it is hoped that the statistics of Pauperism, Insanity, and Crime for the whole State may be brought together in the Report of the Board of Charities, after obtaining the needful information from the other State authorities. In Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, and perhaps in other States, the attempt is now made, in the Annual Reports, to bring all these statistics together, so as to present an aggregate by means of which the condition of one State can be closely compared with that of another.

It will be further observed that no attempt has been made, in the above questions, to get at the statistics of the causes of Pauperism and Crime, as it was suggested in the first session of our Committee might possibly be done. This work—a very delicate and difficult one—has been undertaken in the great State of New York, by the diligent and experienced Secretary of the State Board of Charities, Dr. Hoyt, and is going on at this moment. When it shall have been so far completed that the first general abstract of results can be published, other States will have guide, of much value, to aid them in a similar task. Until then we would recommend the Boards in other States to make use of Dr. Hoyt's Questions, printed herewith, so far as may be found practicable where the legal and administrative machinery has not been so fully provided as seems to be the case in New York. It is understood that the form of Questions suggested by Dr. Harris, and printed in the Sixth number of the *Journal of Social Science*, had not received his final revision, and was, indeed, rather a brief for use in consultations concerning the investigation to be set on foot, than a completed plan. . . .

IV. GENERAL COOPERATION IN CHARITABLE WORK

It is hoped that the Boards of Public Charity enumerated above, and such others as may be from time to time established in the other States, will find it

convenient, as it certainly would seem to be useful, to maintain a constant correspondence with each other, and to meet together for conference at least once a year. There can hardly be a too zealous cooperation between such Boards, having common interests, and an intelligent desire to improve the methods of charitable and penal administration throughout the country,—since a bad system anywhere in use, affects, more or less directly all those States which may have a better system. A good example of such cooperation among the officials of a single State (larger, to be sure, than all New England), is to be found in the Annual Convention of the County Superintendents of the Poor in New York, which, for the present year was held at Rochester on the 9th of June. Thirty-four of the counties were represented on that occasion, by more than fifty delegates; and there were also present three members of the State Board of Charities, and the Secretary of the New York Prison Association. The new legislation and the recent administrative experience of the whole State, in regard to pauperism, were there ably discussed, and the published proceedings, are of value to students of Social Science, all over the land. If what is here done in a single State could be done in all the States, great advantage would result. Even if this is not possible, for years to come, it will be possible to bring together the fifty or sixty persons who serve on the State Boards of Charities, for a yearly conference and comparison of methods and results. The undersigned, having been empowered to do so, have invited a conference of the Secretaries of these Boards in the City of New York to-day, and propose to call a general meeting of all the members of Boards at some convenient time and place next year.

Respectfully submitted.

F. B. SANBORN, of Massachusetts
WILLIAM P. LETCHWORTH, of New York
H. H. GILES, of Wisconsin

NEW YORK, September 9, 1874

NOTES AND COMMENT

THE first annual meeting of the American Association of Public Welfare Officials is so important in the development of professional social work in this country that the *Review* has great pleasure in publishing the proceedings of this meeting. We are sure our readers will approve the holding-over of some of the regular departmental contributions to the *Review*—Public Documents and Court Decisions—and the brevity of Notes and Comments in this number, in order to make possible the prompt publication of the proceedings of the new association. Readers of the *Review* will also appreciate the old photograph of Frank Sanborn and the extracts in the Source Materials from that earlier association of public welfare secretaries—which later became our present National Conference.

UNIFORM WELFARE STATISTICS

AT A meeting of the executive committee of the California Association of Executives of Public Welfare held in Santa Barbara in August, decision was reached to use uniform statistical forms for service reporting. Approximately forty urban communities throughout the United States now use identical forms for reporting to the United States Children's Bureau, and the California association voted to use these same forms. Probably only ten counties will be able to adopt the forms the first year, but the move is significant because future progress will undoubtedly come through state, as well as urban, registration; and California provides further evidence of a trend that has manifested itself in various sections of the country. Social agencies are gradually coming to realize that their statistical material will not be of maximum utility unless it conforms with some recognized standards that will make comparisons possible.

A NEW INSTITUTE

SOcial workers who attended the Great Lakes Institute on Public and Private Relief held at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, the week of July 6-10 report an unusually profitable and stimulating experience. The Association of Community Chests and Councils, which sponsored the Institute, and Raymond Clapp, who served as chairman, deserve an expression of appreciation from the Middle West for having provided a

forum in which some of the problems that the depression has accentuated in this section of the country could be thrashed out.

The Institute was divided into four sections, which met simultaneously to formulate statements that were subsequently debated by the total membership. It is to be hoped that the four final reports will be widely circulated for discussion by social workers in other parts of the country.

The report finally adopted by the Dependency Section contains, perhaps more than any of the other three, matters of urgent concern to social workers. In the main it sets forth principles with which thoughtful observers throughout the country will agree. The Council of Social Agencies is indorsed as the most effective instrumentality for effecting co-operation between voluntary and governmental agencies "provided it includes both the public and the private agencies." We have moved a long way since 1921, when Francis H. McLean, one of the earliest students of the Council movement could write: "Public social agencies should not be admitted [to the Council] A public department as such cannot belong to a body of this kind."

The combination of public and private work in a single agency is questioned for urban communities, but, in the words of the report "is sometimes found expedient in small communities." The so-called Iowa plan is cited as a case in point. But many who have observed the Iowa plan at close range are increasingly disposed to question the wisdom of a combination agency, even in small communities. Inevitably the situation tends to become one in which public funds are utilized to subsidize private ventures. It seems unlikely that such an arrangement will contribute to the building up of a tradition of public responsibility for meeting basic social needs.

Particularly encouraging was the assertion that interpretation should be "not of an organization or of methods of work, but of social conditions in the community." Individualistic competition has been on the wane for more than a decade, but the broader view of an integrated attack upon social morbidity still has the ring of novelty in the field of social work. Ten years of struggle in urging joint action through councils are beginning to show results.

The report indicates a widespread belief that we are on the threshold of a spectacular expansion in the field of public social work, one of the major features of which will be the transfer of much of the burden now carried by voluntary agencies. The issues dealt, not with the fact of transfer, but with the methods. Few dissenting voices will be raised against the conclusion that "the traditions which have been successfully estab-

lished in private work should be transferred when the work comes under public auspices, probably either by a transfer of personnel or by continuance of lay-committee interests or both."

A controversial issue was injected into the meeting when Aubrey Williams, secretary of the Wisconsin State Conference of Social Work, read a resolution calling upon the federal authorities to summon a meeting of the governors of the various states to plan relief measures for the coming winter. Heated discussion ensued. Among those present were numerous supporters of the President's pronouncement that relief measures should be local and voluntary in character. It was felt that the adoption of the resolution might strike a blow at the plans for a nation-wide appeal for relief funds to be launched this fall through the Association of Community Chests and Councils by request of the President's Emergency Committee for Employment. The resolution failed of adoption.

By an enthusiastic vote of those attending the Institute, it was decided to hold a similar meeting next summer. The judgment of one seasoned conferee that the session brought out new possibilities in the discussion method was apparently quite generally shared.

REGISTRATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS

THE *Review* has referred in an earlier number¹ to the pioneer efforts of the California social workers to secure a state plan for the registration of social workers. For several years the California Conference of Social Work has had a committee studying this question, and at the annual meeting in May this committee reported and made recommendations. Complete agreement has been reached as to the desirability of registration, but doubt remains as to the method by which the objective may be attained. Miss Dora Berres, a social worker who is also a member of the Los Angeles bar, expressed the view that it would be impossible to secure a law that would entirely remove from the governor the authority to appoint members of the board of examiners. As an alternative, it was suggested that the California Conference of Social Work should be incorporated and that it should conduct examinations licensing workers and hear grievances. This plan would resemble the system used by the American College of Surgeons, which confers recognition upon practitioners who meet their standards. It would lack, however, the prestige of a statutory measure and would operate only in an indirect way to safeguard standards.

¹ III (1929), 479.

Other members of the committee pointed out that it should be possible for the social workers to nominate the candidates for the board of examiners, leaving in the hands of the governor the final appointing power. They cited, as a precedent, an act of February 20, 1901, creating a state board of medical examiners according to the terms of which exactly this arrangement was provided. A supreme court decision of 1904 held the act constitutional.

Nevertheless, the Conference doubted the wisdom of trying at present to obtain an act which was certain to meet difficult opposition. The membership accordingly voted to work out a registration plan as a project of the Conference, with the hope that after an experimental period the system could be turned over to the state. The committee was charged with responsibility for drawing up a detailed program to submit for consideration at the 1932 meeting in Riverside.

Social workers who have been following the activity of the California Conference will be disappointed that it has seemed necessary to abandon temporarily the plan for state-controlled registration. The substitute plan worked out by the Conference itself will nevertheless be watched with interest as an experiment that may prove helpful in other states.

WOMEN POLICE

IT IS significant that fifty members of the British Parliament met this spring at the House of Commons to discuss the question of urging the Home Secretary to insist that all local authorities should be required to employ women police. Miss Picton-Turbervill, M.P., presided, and a large number of women representing many organizations were also present.

According to the *Manchester Guardian*, the trend of the discussion was to the effect that local autonomy had absolutely broken down with regard to women police, and "the time had come for the Home Office to exercise compulsion. The Home Office had issued circular after circular approving, recommending, and pressing the local authorities to appoint women police . . . and retrogressive local authorities must be brought into line with the progressive authorities."

One member of the House of Commons testified to the splendid work of prevention carried on by the women police with the Army of Occupations in Cologne, but suggested that policewomen give up imitating the uniform worn by policemen.

A resolution was adopted calling on the Home Secretary and the Secre-

tary for Scotland to draft regulations for policewomen for submission to a Police Council called and selected for that purpose.

There are, of course, many differences between the work of policewomen and their method of appointment, education, and training in America and in England, but this evidence of an interest in the subject by a large number of members of Parliament is very important here as well as there.

A NOTE ON NURSING

A RECENTLY received copy of the *London Times* contains an editorial of interest on the nursing profession in which are summarized the results of a recent inquiry undertaken by commissioners appointed by one of the medical journals. The extension of the field of employment for women is said to have had marked effect on candidates for nursing education:

Many occupations now open to women afford better salaries and prospects and more freedom and social amenities than nursing. . . . It is natural in the circumstances that proposals should be made to improve the nurses' lot, and no one aware of the facts doubts for a moment that improvements are necessary. Nurses are very often underpaid and very often overworked. Moreover, they are frequently compelled to perform work which ought to be done by other people. . . . There is no economy in bad nursing or in "sweated" nursing. A great deal is being done by the nurses themselves toward reorganizing their profession, but the work which remains to be accomplished is of a public rather than of a private character. One suggestion that was offered to the Commissioners—namely, that nurses should be given the opportunity of serving on Committees of Management of their hospitals—deserves mention in this respect.

Social workers will be interested in this comment, not because their position is like that of the nurse, but because the efforts that have been made to put social service education on a very much higher plane than nursing education seem to have their reward.

SOCIAL WORK IN A POLICE DEPARTMENT

THE appointment of Miss Henrietta Additon, a veteran social worker and former member of the Bryn Mawr faculty, as a deputy police commissioner in New York City is noteworthy in the development of social work. Miss Additon had been since last October the director of Commissioner Mulrooney's new Crime Prevention Bureau. By act of the Municipal Council of New York, the bureau, which had been looked upon as established only on an experimental basis, has now become a perma-

ment part of the police organization. Among the two hundred persons in this department are twenty-five competent social workers selected on a civil service basis with salaries of \$3,000 a year. The need of social workers in schools and hospitals has long been recognized, but it is a step forward to have the police commissioner of a great city recognize the need of social workers in the police department. The success of the new bureau and its present legal status are due not only to Miss Additon but to the valiant members of her committee, among the foremost of whom was the well-known boys' club worker, William Butcher, who died last January.

FACING THE EMERGENCY

THE winter is all but here, and social workers in all parts of the country are bending their energies to the immediate need. If we face the facts, we know that in the long run Congress must open the nation's purse strings to help care for the stricken people of this country. In the long run the federal government must, and undoubtedly will, step in to provide the necessary funds. But in the meantime, alas, all of our energies must go to raising the necessary funds to carry on until the new Congress assembles and finally acts. There is not only the question of money. There are also the great questions of how the adequate sums that Congress must and will vote can best be administered. Social workers were not heard at the Unemployment Committee meetings last winter. Let us not be found wanting a second time. We have before us a most crucial situation, and we must be ready to say what is to be done with federal funds when they are voted. Shall they be distributed on a fifty-fifty basis? And to communities of what type? By what federal agency shall these funds be handled? And are we prepared to defend the equalization principle so that the specially depressed communities that are so without local funds, local leaders, and local resources shall not go naked and hungry in this American republic? There is no time now for foolish controversies about the "dole"; there is no time now to answer the misrepresentations about unemployment insurance. Like physicians in a plague-stricken country, our duty is service. The stricken must be cared for. But we must be prepared for Congress when Congress is ready to act!

BOOK REVIEWS

A Changing Psychology in Social Work. By VIRGINIA ROBINSON. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930. Pp. xvii + 204. \$2.50.

The present period of economic depression with its mass problems has forced the emphasis of social agencies from case work relationships to the larger questions of administration of social welfare. With this newer and perhaps more socially significant concern, the last decade of development in case work begins to take on the characteristics of a historical period heavily littered with partially assimilated knowledge and pseudo scientific theories. The fog of psychoanalytic terminology may be mystifying to the uninitiated but it has apparently been pregnant with profound meaning to the enthusiasts. Miss Robinson's book may be considered as the literary culmination of the period from which we have emerged. A returning prosperity may enable case workers to resume the study of the more fascinating problem of human nature and the emotional concomitants of behavior, but in the meantime, it is apparent that we shall be submerged in the more material tasks of improving social organizations and relieving individual distress. Evaluating *A Changing Psychology in Social Case Work* is undoubtedly more difficult on account of our present detachment from the problems which concern the author.

Miss Robinson, Associate Director of the Pennsylvania School of Social and Health Work, has chosen for her task the interpretation of psychological factors in social case work. Recent developments are related to the background of the "sociological" case work of the previous decade and an attempt is made to trace the source of influences emanating from various psychological and psychoanalytical schools. Part I, which concerns itself with Social Case Work before 1920, and chapters vii and viii, which review the developments of social case work theory since 1920, constitute a valuable study of significant contributions to case work theory and practice. There is considerable value to this part of the book apart from its purpose of serving as a background for the evolution of Miss Robinson's own contribution to psychological aspects of case work.

Acknowledgment is made to Otto Rank as inspiration for a considerable part of what is fundamental to the theories of case work presented by the author. Only the barest outline of Miss Robinson's thesis may be suggested. Case work is considered primarily as consisting of a therapeutic psychological relationship between the social worker and the client. "The student must become increasingly aware of herself in every contact, must become conscious and analytic of her naïve identification and forego her old security in spontaneous contact for a security painfully achieved in professional contact where the client's reality, not her own, is of paramount importance." Such case work should be closely

related to scientific research and therapy in psychology, psychiatry, medicine, psychoanalysis, and education although it need not be dependent upon them, in fact the case worker has an equal stake with the psychiatrist and should proceed independently to study human nature and its adjustments and define attitudes and techniques. This offers a common basis for all forms of case work irrespective of specialization of social agencies.

The desire of the client for social aid is, Miss Robinson believes, a drive "to relate himself to another"; based upon a "deeper biological reality of growth through union and separation of cells." Upon the biological basis there develops a "psychological growth process in which the biological union with the mother in nine months of uterine experience is deeply determinative." Complicated by the traumatic experiences of "birth separation and the weaning separation" the child develops a confusion between "self" and "object" and is ever after engaged in seeking relationships for purposes of ego satisfaction often ambivalent in their nature. If real understanding can be offered, the client "will tend to use this relationship on deeper and deeper levels to release his conflicts, to project his impulses, to work through his problems, and define himself as a real self in differentiation from the other."

With such an approach, much of the processes which are concerned with study of the individual in relation to social organization are obviously meaningless. The worker becomes primarily concerned with discovering the psychological roots of the client's situation and what use he is attempting to make of the worker in the problem of relationship which the client is seeking to solve. There is to be little concern with history in the conventional sense since the dynamic factors are all comprehended within the positive and negative attitudes of the client himself. These attitudes are not to be dealt with upon a "point to point" scheme but through "creating a relationship environment in which the individual growth process of the individual can be released."

Enough of Miss Robinson's thesis may have been indicated to bring out the inevitable mysticism which accompanies all atomistic or particularistic hypotheses in social work. The essential values of psychological studies become badly distorted when they are used as the center for social case work which is essentially a tool of social adjustment. The present period in social work with its more realistic concern will undoubtedly operate to restore a sane balance in case work theory. The "other" it might be suggested is perhaps the whole social and economic environment in which the client is finding difficulty in functioning and not the personification of the mother "object."

H. L. LURIE

BUREAU OF JEWISH SOCIAL RESEARCH
NEW YORK CITY

Farm Children: An Investigation of Rural Child Life in Selected Areas of Iowa. By BIRD T. BALDWIN, EVA ABIGAIL FILLMORE, and LORA HADLEY. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1930. Pp. 331. \$3.00.

Farms and children are two subjects about which most people are inclined to be sentimental. Case workers struggling with the problems of child life on city streets think with especial wistfulness of the freedom and simplicity of life in the country. To these, and to any others interested in farm children, this investigation of the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station will prove readable, full of facts and figures, and rich in atmosphere. The writers themselves state that as a result of their work, they have abandoned any idea of a "typical rural community," or, for that matter, of "typical rural children," and have concluded that "the individuality of communities and of parents and children is one of the main factors" shown by this study. They nevertheless present, in three hundred closely printed pages, such a complete and sympathetic picture of the child life in two Iowa communities that one feels better acquainted with all farm children after reading the book.

The book is divided into five main parts, an Introduction, and two appendixes. Parts I and V, "Historical Background" and "Conclusions," are brief and very general. Part IV, 130 of the 330 pages, contains the bulk of the concrete data collected in the two communities. It includes chapters on the physical, mental, educational, musical, and speech development of farm children, making comparisons between the two communities studied, and, in some cases, giving comparative data on groups of city school children. In each of these fields the research workers appear to have collected their data carefully, organized them clearly, and then to have been cautious about drawing conclusions. It is interesting that while there was a striking difference between the attitude toward physical examinations prevalent in rural and city communities, the actual number and kind of defects, revealed by the examinations, are very similar in the two groups. Tests of educational achievement quite naturally indicated a marked superiority in the groups of children being educated in the modern consolidated schools, while the pupils in the one-room ungraded school fell below. However, one notes that the consolidated schools are in the neighborhoods where education is valued, and the poorly equipped schools in communities where, in general, slight interest is felt in education. How much of the difference in the children's work can be attributed to the different type of school, and how much to the different parental and community influences which are reflected in the different schools, must be questioned. Moreover, the authors themselves remark that "children from these schools (the one-room schools) who enter high school compare favorably with those who apparently have had better training in consolidated schools."

Parts II and III, on the "Environment of Farm Children" and the "Life of Farm Children," are full of colorful detail. Quotations are cited from the diaries kept by a group of older children as part of the research project. From these,

one gets a keen sense of the close companionship between these children and the phases of nature: the seasons, the weather, daylight and darkness, "the slow rhythm of farm life." One notes the children's sense of responsibility for their share in the farm work. On the other hand, one also notes the meagerness of opportunity for cultural and mental development in the sense afforded by pictures, books, music, organized recreation, and all that goes to make a city school child's life so full of activity. The research workers observe, also, the great lack of facilities for the care of the special problem child in the country, whether the problem be one of subnormality, delinquency, or a spark of genius.

Some of the suggestions for conducting a rural investigation contained in Appendix II are especially worth serious consideration.

The collecting of data, if conducted by specialists in the various fields, should carry obligations of service. When information is received by parents concerning medical, dental, nutritional, mental, and educational examinations and tests of their children, it has an influence that no later published report can possibly have. Although the number profiting from such a service must remain limited, its value is immeasurable. In certain kinds of research, such as medical, the problem of doing something for those found in distress is always pressing. . . . This is especially valuable to rural children whose opportunities are limited.

It must be with satisfaction that social workers note this statement, as in all fields of social service this relation between investigation and service must be recognized.

While this book makes no very startling discoveries, it does present a sympathetic and comprehensive picture of farm children and, as such, is a definite contribution to the meager literature in this branch of the child welfare field.

ETHEL VERRY

CHICAGO ORPHAN ASYLUM

The Community and Social Welfare: A Study in Community Organization.

By CECIL CLARE NORTH. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1931.
Pp. 353+vi. \$3.50.

The tendency to require minimum standards of training from those seeking employment as social workers moves steadily forward. One requirement often encountered is that the prospective worker shall have had training in "community organization." Alabama, for example, which boasts the distinction of being the first state with provision for public social work in every county, withholds certification of employees until certain educational specifications have been met. Courses in social case work and community organization are included in these requirements.

This raises a question as to what the leaders in the field of social work expect their prospective employees to obtain in a course in community organization. An examination of the courses now offered in various schools reveals wide differ-

ences among them, not only in content, but in method of presentation. Some of these courses consist chiefly of case studies. The student is introduced to various community "situations" and is encouraged to formulate general principles from his consideration of concrete cases. Other courses are abstract, laying stress primarily upon sociological theory. Finally, there are courses which may be termed "descriptive," in that they seek to introduce the student to the actual organization that has been set up to meet specific social needs and to help him equate the results.

Those who believe the last-mentioned approach is the most productive—and the reviewer is in this group—will find an able presentation of the subject from this point of view in Professor North's book. In the main the material is descriptive and analytical. Some case studies are included, not, however, as data from which generalizations are to be made, but rather as illustrations of principles or developments that have been elucidated in preceding pages.

The arrangement of the material reflects our current confusion with respect to social welfare services. Lord Haldane's great committee on the machinery of government held for the organization of social services on the basis of functions to be performed rather than on the basis of persons to be served. The leading issue of the White House Conference of 1930 revolved about this same question. Professor North has followed in part the one view and in part the other. The chapter entitled "A Program for Needy Children" precedes a chapter entitled "A Program for Health." A discussion of social work for negroes follows a chapter devoted to leisure-time activities. It would be impossible for any book which is concerned with the contemporary situation to avoid this sort of bifurcation. In the main, we still provide for people because they are poor, or foreign-born, or negro rather than because they are unemployed or ill or uneducated.

Social workers have brought about notable improvements in the condition of children whose parents are dead or untrustworthy. By comparison, little has been accomplished to improve the lot of those multitudes of children who live with parents who belong to the marginal income groups. The chief of the Children's Bureau sounded the tocsin on this issue at the White House Conference last fall. Professor North has sounded it again with commendable vigor:

At present public opinion in America is not ready to consider the needs of the child where parents are both living and engaged in their usual occupations and where no untoward act of parents or children has brought the family or any of its members to the special attention of the community. Insufficient nourishment, inadequate attention to health, bad housing, lack of adequate home educational influences, improper or insufficient recreational provision, such deficiencies as these are frequently not regarded as constituting any just claim by childhood for any special consideration. The problem lies of course in the larger field of the standard of living for the general population. So long as we are not ready to undertake the establishment of a minimum standard for all, the children of the low-standard portion of the population must suffer with the other age groups. It thus comes about that those children who are cared for apart from their

parents . . . are frequently given a better chance for normal development than are those large numbers who live in low-standard homes but whose only claim to distinction is that they are poor.

In spite of its able plea for the rights of childhood, the discussion on children is the least satisfactory chapter in the volume. The multifarious institutions and agencies that communities have developed are listed and described. But the synthesis of which we stand in need is nowhere clearly suggested. The organization of the community will not be truly rational until it is at least sufficiently understandable to enable the man on the street to know where to turn for needed services just as he now understands the function of the school or the fire department. It is important for students of community organization to understand the programs of institutions, of child guidance clinics, of child-placing agencies, of juvenile courts, but it is still more important for them to have pointed out ways in which the present complex interrelationships may be made more intelligible.

It would be unfair to leave the impression that this volume is primarily a textbook. Although it will undoubtedly be widely used by college students, it should also command an audience, not only among social workers, but also among lay people who are interested in social problems. The style is clear and logical, the material timely and interesting. In brief, the book makes good reading.

A. W. McMILLEN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Marriage and the Civic Rights of Women. Separate Domicil and Independent Citizenship. ("Social Service Monographs," No. 13). BY SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. Pp. xi + 158. \$2.00.

This competent and interesting study is apparently in aid of the movement by which the National League of Women Voters seeks to carry forward the married women's legislation of the nineteenth century to more advanced stages. That legislation had brought emancipation mainly by doing away with the common-law system of coverture; it had not attempted to establish absolute parity between husband and wife. Marital rights have continued to reflect sex inequality; and feminist equalitarians not unnaturally seek to remove every vestige of inferiority from the status of married women.

Miss Breckinridge discusses the legal aspects of a difficult subject, or rather two subjects of perhaps different degrees of difficulty and complexity. The discussion is followed by case studies illustrating the operation of the law, which occupy almost two-thirds of the book. It is, however, the analysis of the law contained in the first three chapters which will chiefly engage the interest of the lawyer.

The question of independent citizenship is more difficult than that of separate domicile, because its complete solution depends upon harmonious legislation to be enacted by states having different traditions and principles. So far as American legislation alone is concerned, the Cable Act of 1922 illustrates the consequences of enacting statutes with a specific situation in mind. There is, however, also the inherent difficulty, pointed out by Miss Breckinridge, that to an American woman marrying an alien change of national status may involve a loss, whereas to the great majority of foreign women marrying an American, change of national status means a gain. That may be the truth, but it is not a good talking point at Geneva or at the Hague. For America it can be taken care of to some extent by making retention or change optional. The unintended anomalies of the first Cable Act have been taken care of to some extent by the second Cable Act of 1930, which Miss Breckinridge has been able to incorporate in her synopsis of the law. The anomaly noted on page 40, relating to the status of a woman who marries a man ineligible to citizenship, has been removed by an amendment of 1931, enacted after the publication of the book.

As soon as we add to the idea of retention of citizenship that of optional change, we encounter the practical limitations to perfect equality between the sexes. Theoretically it is of course possible to give the husband the right to assume the nationality of his wife, but it needs only the bare statement of this to show that somewhat different considerations come into play.

The sex disparity in the marital relation is, however, most conspicuous in the question of separate domicile, and here issue must be taken with the author's position. She says (p. 16) that it may be argued that a statute giving a married woman the right to her earnings implies the right to dispose of her labor power wherever she sees fit. The argument, like any other, is possible, but neither historically nor as a matter of sound statutory construction is it tenable. The full recognition of an abstract right to a separate domicile of the spouses may well be conceded, if due consideration is given to the equities of the husband. A man who marries an actress may have to expect her to be on the road for the greater part of the year, but for a woman after marriage to embark on an itinerant career is likely to be the breach of an implied contract. It is not the separateness of legal domicile that is involved so much as the assumption of a position inconsistent with the maintenance of the joint home, which depends upon the woman's far more than on the man's presence. The German Code appears to have found an equitable solution: dependence of the personal-service contracts of the wife upon the consent of the husband, but also a right of the wife to such consent if it is unreasonably withheld, or to an equivalent judicial authorization.

Perfect equality between husband and wife is not consistent with the practical conditions of the marital relation, nor with the claim of women to special protection or consideration in various respects, and the disparity is probably more reflected in the law of domicile than in the law of citizenship. It may, however,

be conceded that theoretically equality, although attended with inconsistency and inconvenience, may be written into the statutes for what it is worth.

LAW SCHOOL
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ERNST FREUND

The Quakers as Pioneers in Social Work: Studien über die Sozialpolitik der Quäker. By AUGUSTE JORNS. Translated by THOMAS KITE BROWN, JR. New York: Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. 269. \$2.00.

This is a useful translation of a German book published in 1912. Plans for its reappearance in English were under discussion before the war but were necessarily delayed for nearly twenty years. Dr. Jorns used the term "Quakers" instead of "Friends," which is, of course, the more correct term, because the former was long customary in Germany, and this term has been retained in the translation.

The book is largely devoted to the social reform measures advocated and supported by members of the Society of Friends in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is, of course, always difficult to segregate a small portion of a large field of social reform by writing of one small aspect of it. One is interested in knowing what Elizabeth Fry did for prison reform, but to describe her work adequately requires a discussion of the whole subject of prison reform in the first half of the nineteenth century as well as a review of the state of the criminal law, its sanctions, and procedure.

What Dr. Jorns has given us is a useful review of the way in which their religion led the Friends to an interest in humanitarian activities. The author has prepared a brief outline of what she calls "the Quaker movement"; and, in order to discuss "the social and humanitarian work of the Quakers," she presents what is called "a brief review of the economic condition of England in the middle of the seventeenth century," the material for which has been secured from rather obvious sources.

The aim of the Quakers at this time was to ameliorate poverty. They were laying the foundations for their doctrine "of the universal priesthood of believers." They looked to a new social equality that would mitigate some of the hardships endured by the poor. Dr. Lettsom (*Fothergill's Memoirs*, 1786) and Sir Frederic Eden (*State of the Poor*, 1797) are quoted as evidence of the fact that no one within the Society of Friends was supported at public expense. However, this may not be so significant as Dr. Jorns thinks. Probably no Unitarians would be found among the destitute in Chicago today. New religious groups requiring some special intellectual and moral energy among their membership to lead them out of the faith into which they were born and where they will stay if they follow the line of least resistance—such groups do not recruit their membership from the lowest population levels.

While it was taken as a self-evident principle that everyone should try to live by his own work, anyone in need of help might apply to the Monthly Meeting, where his case was publicly discussed. The efforts of the zealous members of the early meetings in caring for those in need followed some of the principles of modern case work. Not only poor Friends but others in need were assisted in a competent and rather well-organized way. A very interesting account of the work of John Bellers appears in the section on "Poor Relief." The history of the Quaker workhouses in London is followed through the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, and the work of William Allen and other substantial members of the Society of Friends is outlined.

The work of the Friends in providing education for the poor, in setting up new standards of care for the insane (particularly the work of William Tuke), in prison reform with a discussion of the work of Mrs. Fry, in the abolition of slavery, are all discussed; and there are briefer discussions of "the battle against alcoholism" and public health. On the whole, the book will be very useful to all social workers who are interested in the development of their profession and, in particular, in the relation of various religious groups to the social movement.

Although prepared nearly eighteen years ago, Dr. Jorns's book is still valuable since no other study of the early work of the Quaker pioneers in the field of philanthropy has been published. However, the author could undoubtedly prepare a more scholarly study today as a result of research work done both in England and America in the intervening years. America is, as a matter of fact, very slightly dealt with in the book, although references to colonial or state activities and to a few American leaders among the Friends are made from time to time. A man like Thomas Eddy,¹ for example, well-known in the philanthropic work of the early American Friends, is not even mentioned.

EDITH ABBOTT

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Industrial Village Churches. By EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER. New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1930. Pp. xii+193. \$1.50.

The author of this book, having already done *American Agricultural Villages*, sent trained investigators into sixty-nine industrial villages—an industrial village being defined as one which "has a population between 250 and 2,500 and is dominated by a single industry." Not only the churches were studied but the people in the churches, their economic status, the social life, the village schools. But, of course, the relation of the churches to their environment in such villages is the chief study of the book.

The facts disclosed by the study are anything but exhilarating. Almost everyone works either in mines or factories: 72 per cent of the males over fifteen, three-fifths of the men over sixty-five, 47.5 per cent of the females (7.5 per cent

¹ See this *Review*, IV, 459-74, for portrait and source material.

of the women over sixty-five!). When a strike or a depression hits a village the results are appalling.

The primitive morale produced by the nerve tension under which miners work is vividly described (p. 52). Company landlordism seems to be worst in the coal towns and is seen in its best light in the southern mill towns, but in any case it is a medieval, un-American despotism (p. 53). Social and religious work flourishes better where the company is not the town landlord!

Not voting for Hoover, joining a union, and even dancing and drinking are said to have been heavily penalized by the feudal overlords, "the company." Socio-religious organizations, sponsored either by the community or the labor union, are better attended than those chiefly religious (pp. 75-77).

Class prejudice and distinctions are said to be almost nonexistent in New England, but in the West and Middle West prevails a disdain of the immigrant population for the native-born Americans, and in the South the townfolk draw the lines at those who do "public," i.e., mill work.

In almost every respect, if one excludes the efficient "community" institutions supported largely by the benevolently or piously inclined employers, the industrial village lags behind the agricultural, especially in education and religion. Only 65 per cent of the industrial children attend school (68 per cent is the average for the whole country); and the teachers in the schools are said to be often discontented and too "superior" to do their best work. The church program is meager and otherworldly (pp. 110, 115). Frequently the Protestant church has to cope with the reproach that it is the "town" or the bosses' institution. At least one-third of the population over ten years old (including Roman Catholic) has no connection at all with the church, and a quarter of its constituency is non-active. Contributions from active members are so low that outside or company support, with its logical disadvantages, is necessary. Catholic priests were found to be more "socially-minded" than the average Protestant minister, unless the latter is well educated, in which case he is often a Socialist (p. 157). Three-sixteenths of the Protestant ministers and one-fourth of the Catholic priests observed Labor Sunday. The great majority of the ministers felt it their duty to remain "neutral" during strikes. No minister of a southern church supported by the company was found who, during a strike, had spoken for the strikers against the tactics of the mill-owners. New England ministers, on the other hand, had a record for successful *liaison* and arbitration (p. 168); and an undenominational church in Russell, Massachusetts, is cited as the "best all-around piece of work" for an industrial community. There is a high "turnover" in the ministerial field, one-tenth of the pulpits being constantly vacant.

The claim is so often made that rural Protestantism is declining, and it is so vigorously denied, that the reviewer has deemed it wise to give the factual contributions of the book in considerable detail. Capital summaries of problems and defects of the church in the industrial village are given for those who care

(pp. 130, 138). The evidence does not warrant a decision as to whether such churches are declining or developing, but it is obvious that they are unsatisfactory from any point of view—humanitarian, cultural, democratic, denominational, evangelical! Especially, one might add, from Jesus' point of view! The fact is, the average church is and is likely to be kept, by its members, its company patrons, its astute clergy, its denominational supervisors, as semi-feudal, semi-social, semi-Christian an institution as the economic system that nurtures it. "The program of most of the churches is of the sort that would appeal to the average employer; the gospel is one of otherworldliness, of the dignity of labor, of patience with and submission to conditions as they are. The average church in the mill village is not Christian enough to need capitalistic control; perhaps it is gratitude for this fact that motivates the contributions" (p. 152).

CHARLES LYTTLE

MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

An Adventure in Religious Education. The Story of a Decade of Experimentation in the Collegiate and Professional Training of Christian Workers. By WALTER SCOTT ATHEARN. New York: Century Co., 1930. Pp. xxi+515. \$3.50.

In April, 1916, the president of Boston University invited the author of this book to become the head of a department of community service which a trustee of the university wished to found. Dr. Athearn was then doing similar work in Drake University, Des Moines. He accepted the call and proceeded to gather about him a congenial, talented faculty whose pioneering enthusiasm had to supplement their inadequate salaries. Copious publication and brilliant classroom work soon brought prominence as well as numbers to the school of religious education (and social science) into which the original idea had developed, in spite of many financial and moral defections. All believed (1) in the capital importance of (Christian) religious education in counteracting the deterioration of society; (2) in a personalistic philosophy and in progressive *evangelical* Protestantism as the only true basis of such education; (3) in the propriety of treating religious education as a science, worthy of equal graduate status with the schools of theology and of medicine; (4) in the obligation resting upon the trustees of a university established by Methodists to support without stint a school of religious education as a principal *raison d'être* of the whole university—even to the extent of using the tuition profits of other departments to meet their school's deficit!

It should be said, at this point, that the training in social science was included in the school's functions because the nature of the original supporting institutions (Morgan Memorial and the New England Deaconess Association were two of them) naturally indicated a wider scope than religious education in the technical use of the term. It was perfectly evident from the start, however, that

Dean Athearn's main interest lay in developing a graduate school for the *profession* of religious education. Social science was a secondary consideration, a synonym for the community service rendered by religious educators, a potential by-product of the activities of Christian lay workers professionally competent. Such a forced and indeed abnormal conjunction of the two objects was a preliminary mistake, from our point of view.

Of the difficulties Dean Athearn and his colleagues encountered in realizing their program this book is at once a record and war manual. It is the tenth annual report of the dean, fully endorsed by his colleagues, to the trustees of the university. Exhibiting the pathetically scanty financial resources of the school it urges a campaign for a large endowment. Utilizing with astonishing fulness and dexterity special studies of the federal department of education in the field of secondary and graduate schools, the report explains and defends the curriculum decided on by the dean and faculty. Reviewing the difficulties experienced in assuring an adequate prevocational preparation for their students, it defends the introduction of undergraduate courses into the curriculum (to the neglect of the offerings of the college of arts in the university!) and advocates the erection of an "Isolated College" to provide a fitting cultural professional atmosphere for the candidates for a B.A. in religious education and a B.A. in social science, equivalent to the baccalaureate in other colleges. Demonstrating the high standard of the work done by its students, the report urges the trustees to grant the faculty of the school the power to confer the degrees of master of religious education, master of social science, and the corresponding doctorate, instead of being obliged to present its graduate students for the A.M. and the Ph.D. of the graduate school of arts and sciences.

The energy, the tenacity, the consecration of the dean permeate the book. Into the report he has poured the studies and statistics he has gathered and utilized in his ten years' struggle. His perhaps excessive pride in his undoubted accomplishment is evident. It is sufficient to read Table XLI (p. 107) and chapter xix to understand the magnitude and the uniqueness of the institution he and his co-workers have created. An ambitious, indefatigable, gifted, and strongly evangelical son of the Midwest challenged the conservatism of a New England institution and here is the chronicle of his battle and his victory—and its tragic aspects. Why he is no longer dean; why the book is dedicated to his dead wife; what the feelings of the other deans and the trustees may be, on reading the book; what the sacrifices and satisfactions of his colleagues have been we glimpse between the lines of dry statistics.

Certain questions, nevertheless, arise. Are we ready to isolate religious education from theology and from education and treat it as a science and its pursuit as a profession on a par with medicine and law? Or is it still in the status of library work and journalism? Is it desirable that "progressive evangelical Protestantism" have its carefully guarded seminaries (i.e., isolated colleges and graduate schools of religious education) comparable to Roman Catholic seminaries?

With relation to social science and its teaching by such a faculty in such a school our doubts are yet more insistent. Why, for instance, should a M.S.Sc. candidate be required to take eight hours of Bible? (Possible electives being biblical geography and archaeology, or the life and letters of Paul, p. 389.) Why should a B.S.Sc. carry the requirements of fourteen hours of Bible and fourteen hours in philosophy and ethics to the exclusion of much knowledge far more useful in later work? Unintentionally, of course, this book brings out very plainly the inadvisability of such a program and the danger of such a precedent. May Dean Athearn's great work go on unimpaired, but without such errors and confusion in the future.

CHARLES LYTTLE

MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

The Family: Source Materials for the Study of Family and Personality. By EDWARD BYRON REUTER and JESSIE RIDGWAY RUNNER. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1931. Pp. x+615. \$4.00.

The intention of the editors of this volume, as indicated in the Preface, is "to furnish necessary data for the thought and judgment which an intelligent contemplation of the family situation requires." Some 116 articles, practically all of recent date (the *Virtuous Woman*, quoted from Proverbs, a notable exception), are presented as source materials for the study of family and personality. The articles are grouped in chapters, according to topics, and each chapter is preceded by an introduction which in some measure prepares the reader for what is to follow.

That, in view of the large and rapidly increasing amount of writing on the family (note the bibliographies appended to each chapter), a source book serves a distinct purpose, is obvious; and the editors have chosen significant material with knowledge and discrimination. The writers quoted, for the most part American, include well-known representatives of the various social sciences and also of biology, religion, and general literature, and an attempt is made to present without prejudice widely varying points of view. Interpretation of this material on the part of the editors, however, is perhaps not so convincing as one might desire, and a tendency to generalizations which are far from established is even at times quite marked.

For example, a statement of the general introduction reads: "The growing tendency of social workers and of the courts to invade the family and assume charge of the children is a more or less public admission of its failure." But, later in the book itself, evidence is given that it is in "families" that the treatment of "dependent, neglected, and delinquent children" is most effective; and every social worker knows that, as indicated in the findings of the recent White House Conference, the idea that every child has a right to the feeling that he has a home, has become a guiding principle of the profession.

That "the history of the family has not a suggestion to make nor a ray of

light to shed upon the modern situation" (p. 45) is another arresting statement of the editors which it is hard to accept, and one cannot but wonder if they do actually to this extent take issue with those sociologists who depend on the historical approach in the interpretation of social processes.

In the midst of a wealth of valuable data (historical, statistical, etc.) a few articles seem to make a special impression. Not the least of these are those written by Professor E. W. Burgess, which present the idea of the family as a unity of interacting personalities and point out the subtle changes taking place in our conception of the family and of the rôle of its members. For an appreciation of the significance of this idea, one must turn to the articles themselves. That Burgess, as well as Ogburn and others, points out that the father has a rôle which is not wholly biological or economic, may not surprise us, though, in contrast, this is hardly acknowledged by Bertrand Russell when he says (p. 279) that "sexual morality, freed from superstition, is a simple matter."

The idea of a social "rôle" is closely related to that of "status," and one is interested to find that a whole chapter, including eight articles, is devoted to "The Status of Woman." Why not a parallel chapter on "The Status of Man"? To treat man as part of the environment but as having no distinguishing status within the family, such as to justify a chapter for himself, may have become such a habit in our thinking that no parallel material is available; but if such is the case (which one may doubt), the challenge to the contributing writers is obvious.

If "the existing family is still a chief instrumentality for the development of personality, not only in the children but perhaps in the adults as well" (Burgess, p. 133), one rather suspects that men will themselves resist any tendency to give them a subordinate or casual place in the family picture.

The last chapter of the volume is entitled "Trends of Change," and in five articles deals with the frustrated type of married woman, nursery schools, mothers' pensions, research in social therapy, and the companionate marriage. One cannot but miss here any reference to the new comradeship and real partnership (cf. Todd, p. 65) which, if still not general, have become dominating ideals in a number of families (not by any means usually childless) which we all know.

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE

MARGARET K. STRONG

Crippled Children, Their Treatment and Orthopedic Nursing. By EARL D. McBRIDE. St. Louis: C. V. Mosby, 1931. Pp. 280. \$3.50.

The author states that his purpose in offering the non-technical presentation of the surgical and nursing care required in each of the various types of crippling diseases has been to meet a need widely recognized among surgeons, nurses, and social workers.

Because of the paramount importance of early discovery of crippling diseases, which are often insidious in their onset, and of the meticulous after-care treat-

ment required in many cases for months or years, the success or failure of the orthopedist's work depends in unusual degree upon the intelligent co-operation of lay persons. Among the significant findings of the Joint Sub-Committee on Crippled Children of the White House Conference was the fact that in communities where an adequate program of prompt discovery, scientific treatment, and after-care has been carried on for a number of years, at least 50 per cent of crippling can be prevented. But the experience in these communities has been that finding the children in time is difficult and that treatment is often delayed or obstructed or the work of the surgeon wasted because of the lack of general knowledge of the processes and possibilities of orthopedic surgery.

Dr. McBride gives a brief description of orthopedic equipment and technique, of post-operative nursing and physiotherapeutic processes, followed by short chapters on the early symptoms, progress, and treatment of the main diseases and congenital or traumatic conditions requiring orthopedic surgery. While the volume is too elementary for the trained surgeon or orthopedic nurse, it will be borne in mind that of the estimated three or four million crippled children in the United States a very large percentage are in remote districts where scientific orthopedic services are not available nor understood and that the presentation of these essentials in simple unscientific terms will go far toward helping local physicians, nurses, and social workers in allaying the fears and securing the co-operation of parents in the necessary treatment and after-care.

CHICAGO COMMONS
CHICAGO

Laura Hood

Wholesome Parenthood. By ERNEST R. and GLADYS H. GROVES. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1929. Pp. vi+320. \$2.00.

This book, as the Preface states, aims to give concrete suggestions to parents with regard to the more important problems of childhood. It reviews in detail for parents such subjects as discipline, the conditioned reflex, the meaning of fear, daydreaming, and the like, and then, with this theoretic material as a basis, makes practical suggestions as to how to handle each individual problem of childhood which is discussed. Bibliographies at the end of each chapter are comprehensive and well thought out from the point of view of the parent who may make use of the book. The book is an excellent sequel to Professor Groves's two former books, *Wholesome Marriage* and *Wholesome Sex Life*.

INSTITUTE FOR JUVENILE RESEARCH
CHICAGO

Cornelia Hopkins Allen

The Healthy Mind. Edited by H. B. ELKIND. New York: Greenberg, 1929. Pp. 269. \$3.50.

A book consisting of eight chapters by as many authors, gathered from a lecture series to an average audience, would not seem to offer much promise of

unity or depth. The greater achievement, then, is reached in producing a coherent and sound exposition of mental hygiene principles while retaining largely the easy conversational style of the speaker.

Although the subtitle of the book is "Mental Hygiene for Adults," the contents are largely directed to that of children. This is, perhaps, as it should be since, as Douglas A. Thom claims in the first chapter, "The Child is Father to the Man." The child should profit from its parents' careful reading of the book.

Not but that wisdom is tendered to the adult. The persistence of childhood mechanisms, the importance of unadmitted activating motives, the "flight" symptomatology and the Hamlet syndrome—if one might so characterize a personality laboring under a burden beyond its capabilities—are well expounded by several of the contributors, as well, that is, as is possible without more direct reference to the psychoanalytic trends, and these are conspicuously absent. Perhaps they were deliberately omitted in a volume directed to such a diverse audience since it is impossible to give any balanced concept of psychoanalytic principles in a short lecture, and it is unwise to give the smattering information sometimes attempted in popular presentations.

James J. Walsh, in a richly anecdotal chapter asking, "Do We Americans Really Live?" pleads for a properly utilized leisure; followed by Karl M. Bowman, who points out, with considerable physiological material as a background that "Fatigue, Worry and the Blues" may result from its lack. "Emotion and Intellect in Adult Life" by Thomas Vernor Moore, and "Normal and Abnormal Fear" by Abraham Myerson are excellent chapters containing much common sense illuminated by psychiatric experience and theory. "Nerves—Their Meaning in Our Lives" by Esther Loring Richards also contains instructive case material and the more especial problem of "The Job and Mental Health" is attached by V. V. Anderson.

Though the inevitable individuality of style is present, all contributors have made effective use of case histories, anecdotes, and selected poems and quotations, and have succeeded in maintaining interest without, in most cases, losing sincerity. Each chapter tends to conclude on a high note which often succeeds in being inspirational but in one or two cases is merely sentimental.

The book as a whole indeed is readable and informative, and selected references at the end lead the beginner into second courses in mental health. It is not a deeply learned treatise and contains nothing new except in ways of presentation. But, as the editor, Henry B. Elkind, justly says in his preface, "The reader will find . . . sound, practical, common-sense explanations and advice." Joseph Jastrow closes the last chapter, "Keeping Mentally Fit: A New Art—the Need of the Times," with the statement, ". . . sanity today is not an accident but an achievement, a condition to be sought for. This book is offered as an aid to this end." Possibly this book will be most useful, after all, in helping the reader toward a sound philosophy of living.

MARGARET W. GERARD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Recovery of Myself. By MARIAN KING. With a Preface by ADOLPH MEYER. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931. Pp. xi+148. \$2.00.

It is very unusual for a mental patient, upon recovery, to describe in writing those emotional experiences, warped attitudes, and bizarre mental processes that characterized his illness. The reason for the rarity of such accounts is, of course, twofold. In the first place the degree of disintegration in many forms of mental disease is so complete that the patient, if and when he recovers, has neither a clear memory nor a clear insight into the nature and course of his illness. In the second place, very few such persons have the skill to put such descriptions in writing. For scientific and other purposes, therefore, it is fortunate when a patient's "own story" can be made available as it is in *The Recovery of Myself*.

In this revealing, human document we have the record of a patient's experience in a private hospital for mental diseases. Miss King, as a very young woman and a student, became addicted to the use of veronal as a means of inducing sleep and also as a means of getting her own way. On one occasion, either by accident or with suicidal intent, she took fifty grains of this drug. This almost fatal episode, and others less serious, led to her commitment to a private sanitarium. The book is her own account of a three months' stay in the hospital. "Every fact, every detail," she says, "is literally true." Her recollection of these events was materially aided, however, by a full diary of events, which, "by some strange inspiration" she was moved to keep, "even in the first bewildering days" of her illness. The letters she wrote to her parents—recovered upon her return home—are also included in the narrative.

In a preface, Dr. Adolph Meyer, Henry Phipps professor of psychiatry in the Johns Hopkins University, points out that such descriptions by patients are not always complete. "The writer of this book is no doubt fair by intention," he says, "and succeeds to a large extent." Commenting further he says:

Quite obviously there was at first a tendency to be self-centered and self-concerned; gradually she became socialized, a participant in the hospital world, and finally capable of seeing herself as the physician sees her, with a growing sense of proportion and perspective.

The book will be extremely useful because it illustrates, first of all, the generally high standards of medical care and treatment maintained by the best private hospitals for nervous and mental diseases. In the second place it reveals, in the patient's own language, the mental hygiene philosophy and the psychotherapeutic technique employed in the modern mental hospital. To develop self-understanding and to cultivate self-control seem to have been the hospital's objectives, in this case at least.

The book contains much in common with two other well-known case accounts by ex-patients: Beers' *A Mind That Found Itself* and Hillyer's *Reluc-*

tantly Told. It constitutes a valuable addition to the case literature of mental hygiene. All who read the study will find it interesting. As a study in the technique of "running away from reality" by means of drugs, the document will be especially useful to teachers, mental hygienists, and parents.

Dr. Meyer compliments the author upon her example of "frankness and directness." He expresses the hope that it might relieve others from "the habit of making a secret of mental illness."

ARTHUR L. BEELEY

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

Life among the Low-brows. By ELEANOR ROWLAND WEMBRIDGE, Ph.D.
Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931. Pp. viii+301.
\$2.50.

Here we see a psychologist playing the rôle of ethnologist. For purely literary purposes, however, the author—a clever writer—describes the customs, habits, and philosophy of mental defectives as though they were a sort of primitive race geographically remote from the rest of mankind. While this approach to the moron is undoubtedly new, it is also misleading. The culture-pattern of the "low-brow" is, after all, essentially that of his "high-brow" relative. Moreover, the difference—what little it is—between a moron and a person of average intelligence is altogether one of degree. Certainly, to speak of morons as a "race" is anything but accurate.

It is equally inaccurate and confusing to say, as the author does in her Preface, that "gifted groups" are "far out-numbered by the slow-witted and inarticulate. . . ." Such an assertion seems in direct conflict with what is generally regarded as an established principle of psychology, viz., that the distribution of intelligence above and below the average is bilaterally symmetrical.

Yet there are many points to commend in this volume. Especially worth while is the brief discussion of the traditional clash between alienist and legalist, in which the author makes it clear that "human classifications are not clean-cut." The chapter on the "Girl Tribe" is both clever and interesting. The high point of the book, however, is the chapter on "Negroes in Custody," in which many of our cherished beliefs regarding racial differences are shattered.

Here, as in *Other People's Daughters*, the author's purpose is literary rather than scientific. While the social worker, the psychologist, and the physician will find nothing new in the present volume, the layman, on the other hand, will be fascinated by the case stories.

Dr. Wembridge is at present a referee in the juvenile court of Cuyahoga County, Ohio, and served for many years as psychologist at the Bedford Reformatory for Women and at the Woman's Protective Association, Cleveland.

A. L. B.

Child Adjustment in Relation to Growth and Development. By ANNIE DOLMAN INSKEEP. New York: D. Appleton, 1930. Pp. xiv+427. \$3.00.

Many articles appear month by month in the popular scientific periodicals discussing child care in its various phases. There is much repetition, as well as conflicting material, published. Dr. Inskeep in this volume has performed a valuable service in collecting these current opinions and data, selecting the more reliable, and uniting them into a book which is readable and sufficiently non-technical for the average parent and teacher. Since the material was first given in lectures to students, the form is didactic, the questions and exercises at the end of each chapter suggest the undergraduate classroom and, because of their simplicity, tend to depreciate the intelligence of the reader. To compensate, however, the bibliography is large, including many scientific as well as popular articles, thus offering the reader the experimental background of the material if he wishes to delve deeper.

The accent is upon the growth and development of the child during the school years and the function of home and school in guiding the growth toward the most adequate development. A greater part of the book is concerned with physical changes as they appear at different age periods, and the interrelationship between organ systems is stressed. Norms for growth are discussed, and Baldwin's height-weight charts are included. This material along with other statistical data makes the book a valuable reference handbook for the person not directly dealing with these phases of child life. The same is true for the chapters on mental testing. The various tests now used are described simply and accurately, the methods of arriving at the norms discussed, and the interesting data on the mental measurements of different races is summarized.

In the latter chapters discussing emotional problems of the child and adolescent, there is less actual data offered, and one recognizes a greater element of personal bias in which a moral note is sustained too consistently. This, of course, may be the result of the divergence of opinions one meets among experts in this field. Dr. Inskeep does, however, present a summary of the various schools of psychiatric thought, and, though she leans toward Adler's theories in her analysis of problems, there is tolerance in her attitude toward other approaches. Undoubtedly, such a book can be of value to the teacher, the social worker, and the parent who may find in it the general, although necessarily superficial, information related to the child in the fields of physiology, anthropology, sociology, psychology, and mental hygiene.

M. W. G.

Psycho-Analysis and Education. By BARBARA LOW. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1928. Pp. 224. \$2.25.

The purpose of this volume, as stated by the author, "is to show the bearing . . . of psycho-analysis on education," so that both fields may "join hands in an endeavor to test accepted ideals and methods, and to formulate,

if need be, new ones." Miss Low is adept at presenting the complex theories of psycho-analysis in a form understandable to the lay reader. She has made a rather hasty attempt to think her way through the maze of controversial opinions and conflicting data in her effort to apply psycho-analytic concepts to the problems of pedagogy.

The book is divided into six chapters. The first serves to orient the beginner in the use of psycho-analytic concepts. According to the author, the necessary equipment of the educator is a realization of the influence of the unconscious upon conscious processes; a knowledge of the process of repression and an understanding of the interdependence of intellectual and emotional factors. These points she elaborates in the rest of the book. In this and the succeeding chapters is frequently voiced the plea that teachers cannot equip themselves for such an understanding without becoming analyzed. Such a corps of analyzed teachers will be able to handle their charges more intelligently and will know whom to select to refer to the school psycho-analyst for treatment.

Chapter ii is entitled "Unconscious Mind and Its Rôle in Education." Here is an attempt first made to answer the question, "What does psycho-analysis suggest as the fundamental requirements for the most favorable relationship between teacher and taught?" The answers given are, "First . . . the educator has need of knowledge of his own psyche. . . . Secondly, he must have a knowledge of, and a power of getting into contact with, the pupil's psychic life." In the third place, the teacher "must have achieved at least a fairly satisfactory fulfillment of his more important and unconscious and conscious, in order to avoid using his situation for his own personal gratification, thus distorting the purpose of his work." This is amplified by a discussion of the mechanisms of identification, fixations on parents, and the rôle of teachers as parent-substitutes, as well as the effect of authority and its lack upon the child's ego-ideal.

In the third chapter the author discusses the four traits which head the list of "specific behavior difficulties" compiled by a London teacher—namely, antagonistic behavior, stealing, lying, and "dreaminess" or "inability to concentrate." The discussion of these traits, their significance, and methods of handling them is rather hurried and superficial.

The fourth chapter opens with a description of the mechanism of repression into the unconscious of those pleasures, fears, and wishes that cannot obtain expression (or gratification). Then follows a description, with examples, of various types of intellectual handicaps, with a discussion of the emotional significance. Here, as in other chapters, the examples are, with rare exceptions, too briefly presented to be convincing. The handicaps discussed are: "inability to progress beyond a certain stage," "inability to deal with any kind of problem," "states of confusion, leading to inaccurate observation, hearing, or reproduction," and "lack of concentration, manifesting itself at times in an indulgence of some bodily habit, such as fidgeting with fingers." Other handicaps discussed are, "an inability to produce his knowledge or make use of his powers, often

displayed by the 'sly,' 'nervous,' or 'unready child,' " and "untidiness, dirtiness and muddle in the child's work and general behavior."

Chapter v opens with a good description of the mechanism of sublimation. In discussing the rôle of the teacher the author mentions the negative functions of preventing "fixation of feeling on the primitive instinctive pleasure level," and of observing the processes of sublimation and repression in order to aid the former. Then the author mentions the positive function of providing "opportunities for successful sublimation during the child's educational years." This can only be done by keeping in mind the characteristics of the process. First, it is an unconscious process. Second, "there must be an accurate and specific transference of energy from one field of interest to another." Third, unlike repression, which dams up instinctive impulses, sublimation uses them by transference. And last, it is a partial process and "can never discharge more than a certain proportion of the energy originally bound up with the instinctive impulses."

The last chapter is a brief critique of modern educational movements. Here is an interesting presentation of arguments for and against coeducation at different age-levels. Several pages are devoted to the Montessori school, followed by a short review of the principle of self-government in schools. The weakest part of this chapter is the discussion on mental tests, showing a lack of familiarity with recent work in this field.

This book is not intended for advanced students nor as a reference book. It is written apparently for lay consumption and propaganda for certain ideals, still very debatable; namely, that every teacher be analyzed and all problem children be treated by psycho-analysis. In spite of the defects mentioned, the book reads well, has a good literary style, and offers many interesting and challenging ideas of interest to educators and investigators in the field of human behavior.

H. W. NEWELL, M.D.

INSTITUTE FOR CHILD GUIDANCE
NEW YORK CITY

Negro: National Asset or Liability? ("Racial America," Vol. I). By JOHN LOUIS HILL. New York: Literary Associates Inc., 1930. Pp. xiii+233. \$2.00.

The stated purpose of the volume is to give a true appraisal of the Negro, so that we may judge him for what he is rather than through sentiment or prejudice. However, the author finds it difficult to hold to his subject. Most of the volume is a series of sermonettes on politics, religion, our greed for gold, disrespect for law, Colonel Lindbergh, art, and various other subjects. From time to time the Negro is brought into the discussion, but seldom is there any clear-cut statement of his problems or his value to the nation.

We are told that it does no violence to relative truth and sound reasoning to

believe that Noah actually had three sons, named Shem, Ham, and Japheth. Ham went south into Africa and there, due to exposure to the burning sun, became black. On page 60 we read, "In that way, and in that alone, is the color of the Negro accounted for. The contour of the Negro face and the general physical makeup . . . were due entirely to the utter absence of all civilizing influences and the fact that naturally they lived on a plane not far above that of the animal." On the other hand, "the sons of Japheth in central and northern Europe met with climatic conditions more conducive to development of the white skin and the refinement of features." Further on we are told that the black skin of the Negro cannot continue many centuries in a temperate climate, so that eventually the color question would disappear even without intermixture (p. 69).

Apparently Dr. Hill is not acquainted with modern investigations dealing with laws of inheritance or the effects of environment on organisms. His knowledge of North Africa and the Horn appear equally vague, for he claims the Hamitic-speaking peoples as Negroes, and takes it for granted that the Ethiopians (Abyssinians) are typical of that race.

The author has a fine attitude toward the Negro and seeks to bring about a better understanding between black and white. He has some interesting observations on Negro art and religion, and a few pages are devoted to the accomplishments of the colored people since the days of the Civil War. In general, however, this volume offers little to those who desire facts concerning the Negro.

FAY-COOPER COLE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

School Acres. An Adventure in Rural Education. By ROSSA B. COOLEY.

New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1930. Pp. xxii+166.

\$2.50.

This story of the fascinating experiment in fitting education to life that has been carried on through Penn School as a laboratory is offered as a suggestion for other communities, both rural and urban, who have awakened to the necessity of conserving human values, if life is not to break down and become unbearable under the pressure of economic forces and the mechanization of industry. Even at St. Helena's the author says, "it hangs in the balance whether the forces for education and co-operation among the islanders will develop mutual strength among them swiftly enough."

Anthony, it seems, who smiles from the cover, has just an even chance, thanks to the Penn School, not to lose the joy that is in his eyes and the determination that is in his heart. But one is left wondering what of the other Anthonys, both white and black, throughout the South and the rest of the world, who have had no such opportunity? Will it be too late by the time these educational principles that now seem so obvious shall be put into effect?

Surely it is a challenge to the principle of democracy. There is an analogy to

the ditches of St. Helena's island—after the break-up of the plantations of slavery days, they were not kept in order, because no one was any longer responsible for the drainage of the island, until finally the co-operative idea was adopted. Likewise, no one has been responsible for seeing that education should direct the flow of human resources and interests into the needs of life, and, as a result, the whole system has become choked and ineffective, awaiting the dynamic of governmental co-operation on a large scale to clear it out.

The book has charming crayon portraits and vivid pen-pictures.

IRENE J. GRAHAM

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The New Criminology. By MAX G. SCHLAPP, M.D., and EDWARD H. SMITH. New York: Boni & Liveright, 1928. Pp. ix+325. \$4.00.

The main contention of this book is that criminals are born into the world "with their destiny largely determined"; that infants are "predestined to anti-social conduct by flaws in their mental and nervous make-up." The authors—one a physician, one a journalist—promise (but fail) to demonstrate that "the vast majority of all criminals, misdemeanants, mental deficient and defectives are the products of bodily disorders; that most crimes come about through disturbances of the ductless glands in the criminal or through mental defects caused by endocrine troubles in the criminal's mother."

The authors further maintain that while

bad inheritance, a bad milieu and the much belabored bad economic conditions may all be rated as contributory causes of criminality which do not, however, either singly or together offer anything like a complete explanation of the criminal phenomenon or suggest anything beyond highly theoretical remedies.

More specifically it is argued that most offenders are abnormal beings, "the fruits of disordered emotions based upon defective human chemistry." The social and domestic failures, ne'er-do-wells, vagrants, wanderers, incorrigibles, eccentrics, inverts, etc., are the victims of "disturbed chemistry" for which sedatives, glandular extracts, etc., are presumably the cure and prevention.

The theory advanced by the authors is said to be based upon twenty years of clinical work, with more than 30,000 cases, in the Neuropathological Clinic of New York Post Graduate Medical School and Hospital and the New York Children's Court Clinic.

The authors, of course, accept a strictly mechanistic view of conduct and deny the existence of free will, or rather show the chemical nature of volition. The criminal act, they argue, is the result of a lowered threshold of "functional activity in the individual's cells." This is the result of the "under- or oversensitization of the plasm by chemical action." The following quotation illustrates their point:

Take the case of a thief. He sees a purse lying on a table and knows that it contains fifty dollars. The normal man might feel the desire for fifty dollars. He might need it sorely enough. But his intellectual control would at once advise him that the money was not his and he would draw away from the temptation without trouble. But the thief is emotionally disturbed and this is the dominant fact. He goes toward the coveted prize and then draws back, his intellectual center cautioning him with a wave of fear. He struggles between this fear and his desire. The contending impulses flow back and forth. Finally a wave of emotion sweeps the thief. He flees. This thief very likely has tried to resist. He has told himself that his act is wrong, that it is dangerous, that imprisonment awaits him if he is caught. He has attempted to exercise what he has been taught is his will. But before the reactions of his chemically disturbed bodily mechanism all willing and all fear have broken down.

Another narrative cited is the case of an Italian boy who stole money to buy a cowboy suit. Laboratory tests in this case found him to be suffering from "overactivity of the thyroid, suprarenal and pituitary glands." From these findings the authors conclude that "The threshold in the emotion center was greatly depressed and the boy was therefore without power to resist the emotional waves connected with the evil concepts with which his mind was filled."

To explain the case of the "average woman who kills a man with whom she is or has been amorously engaged," it is argued that "frustration in any one of many directions leads to a boiling of the endocrines, a general sensitization of the cells in various neuron groups, a lowering of the threshold of functional activity in various emotional centers, a loss of inhibitory power and deeds of blood."

The inference to be drawn from these and such other examples as the authors give is that all crime is the result of a biochemical unsoundness in the individual. If a man and his wife fight each other, it is due to the endocrines. If a girl becomes a shoplifter, it is due to her "disturbed chemistry." Endocrinology has thus not only explained the problem of crime but proffers to solve it.

The fallacy at once apparent here is that a neuropathologist, having observed large numbers of abnormal personalities—including some criminals—in a medical clinic, naïvely assumes his cases to be typical of all offenders. A moment's reflection should have convinced him that his cases are, in all probability, not typical of offenders in general. To determine whether or not endocrine disturbances lie at the root of criminal conduct is a decidedly worth-while problem, but one which must of necessity be attacked in an orthodox, scientific way; namely, by an analysis of a random sample of offenders. It would have been much more scientifically sound—not to say much more useful—if the authors had analyzed the mine run of offenders rather than to analyze the mine run of abnormal personalities, in an effort to test their hypothesis of crime causation. The failure to so proceed is, perhaps, inevitable (although inexcusable) in the clinically-trained physician who, despite his excellent training and preparation for bedside medicine, is nevertheless unskilled in the logic of statistical procedure.

The statistics presented in the book are, moreover, quite inadequate and fail to convince the reader. The authors' treatment of the recent studies of the intelligence of criminals reveals their lack of understanding not only of the methods employed but of the results achieved. The statement, for example, that no statistics are necessary to reveal the obvious facts "that many offenders are mentally deficient in gross and palpable ways, that still more are of low intellectual power, and that the great majority of convicts are from the stupid, unlettered and debased ranks, while only the rarest men inside prison walls are of genuinely high mental ability," is well-nigh unforgivable from persons who claim eminence in the field of criminology.

The same general criticism can be made of Dr. Schlapp's theory of crime causation as has been made time and time again of Lombroso's and all other single-track conceptions. The basic—and fallacious—assumption underlying such theories is that crime is the uniform consequent of one and the same antecedent. If the scientific studies (e.g., Goring, Healy, Adler, Burt, etc.) in criminology have taught us anything, it is that crime is the uniform consequent of many different antecedents. The terms "crime" and "delinquency" are generic ones, and are comparable to the terms "sickness" and "disease" in the field of medicine. The terms are general and apply to a large group of widely different entities. All of which suggests that progress in the treatment and prevention of crime will be achieved in much the same way it was achieved in the treatment and prevention of disease, viz., by the isolation of specific types, patterns, symptom-complexes, etc. That is to say, delinquency cannot be dealt with intelligently *en bloc*, any more than disease can be effectively treated or wholly prevented *en bloc*. Just as there is no one universal panacea or palliative for all disease, neither is there one universal treatment for crime.

The book, however, is stimulating and were its facts and contentions not so overdrawn, it would be a useful addition to a many-sided approach to our understanding and control of crime. The work is interesting because of its case narratives and its many exceptionally good plates. It is well written, although florid in spots. It lacks a good bibliography on both the subject of endocrinology and that of criminological theory.

The authors' "program" of social action is good; however, it is hardly distinguishable from that of any other person who approaches the problem of crime intelligently. It differs hardly at all, for instance, from the forward-looking penological program publicly proposed by Alfred E. Smith while governor of New York.

ARTHUR L. BEELEY

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

Life in London's Great Prisons. By T. WHYTE MOUNTAIN. London: Methuen & Co., 1930. Pp. vi+180. 5s.

The volume details the induction, daily routine, and the regularity of the life of inmates in both Wormwood Scrubs and Wandsworth local prisons near Lon-

don. In this instance the author has first-hand information, having been subjected to the discipline he describes.

Despite the lack of running water and sanitary facilities within the cell, a high value is placed on cleanliness. In addition to the usual employment during the daylight hours, much of which is taken up with necessary prison maintenance work, each inmate is given a "cell task" to be finished between supper and the next morning roll call. This is also provided for the week-end. The only other work mentioned is that of the manufacture and repair of mail bags and the making of brushes, both for state use only, and not for outside sale. In a semi-serious, semifacetious manner Mr. Mountain treats of the watery consistency of the evening ration of cocoa, the morning supply of tea, and the occasional delicacies of treacle and drippings.

A system of grades is in vogue in these institutions, where the longest sentence possible is two years (although a great many last only a few months). The grades carry with them increasing privileges and liberties. In the first grade, in which the inmate is placed upon entry, food is served in the cell, no mattress is supplied, and a glass wall intervenes between the prisoner and his relatives on visiting day. Here he remains eight weeks and, with good conduct, is passed to the second class, where he enjoys a larger cell, meals in a dining-room, exercise optional in form, and visits across a table. After six weeks he passes to the third grade with the added privilege of a chair instead of a stool at meals; here exercise is not compulsory. In the fourth class a recreation room is provided, with the type of diversion chosen by the inmate and, in general, less official supervision. The purpose of the system is the preparation for return to the outside, as the inmate acquiesces in prison discipline.

In English prisons a semiofficial responsibility is placed on both the prison visitor and the representative of the Prisoners' Aid Society. The former is usually a citizen of the vicinity who offers his services gratuitously to the government. He is appointed for a year, and is assigned a small group of inmates with whom he visits (in the cells) and whom he cheers. Frequently the interest of the visitor continues after the discharge of the inmate. To the Prisoners' Aid Society representative are referred inmates' requests for aid to the families, the finding of suitable work after release, and all similar matters which condition his re-entry into group life. It is apparent that the government has considerable faith in these two private groups, and according to the statement of one of the English prison commissioners the efforts are productive of service.

This account of the mechanization and monotony of prison life, the mass discipline, and even the measured food rations makes interesting reading. The author complaisantly accepts the established order yet weaves about it something of a glamor, which is not common among those concerned about either the American jail, the house of correction, or the reformatory.

W. ABRAHAM GOLDBERG

JEWISH SOCIAL SERVICE BUREAU
CHICAGO

Criminal Law in Colonial Virginia. By ARTHUR P. SCOTT. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. Pp. ix+335. \$4.00.

This scholarly study of the development of the criminal law in one of our oldest states during its formative period contains much that is interesting to those concerned about the status of the criminal law today and its method of procedure. Dr. Scott writes with the skill of a trained historian but he also is equipped with a competent knowledge of legal principles. His book clearly pictures the colonial Virginia, of the earliest period, as a frontier community with the rough and ready methods of administering justice that belong to the period of frontier life.

How far the common and statutory law of England was followed in the colony as to criminal procedure and law enforcement is carefully studied. The Virginia colony had a "considerable but by no means unlimited" power to legislate for herself. There are references to the effect of the transportation system, e.g., with reference to trial by jury.

As time went on it was found that more and more offenses were being committed by transported English convicts. Thus in 1737 the *Virginia Gazette* noted that of the ten criminals in jail—a larger number than had "been known for many years"—most were convicts. The Assembly decided that such individuals did not deserve very tender treatment, and in November, 1738, it was enacted that convicts, during the term of years for which they had been transported, should not be entitled to a jury from their county. They were allowed to extract what consolation they could from the assurance of the legislature that "it can be of no benefit or advantage to such persons, who are commonly servants, and little known in the neighborhood where they are, to have a jury of the vicinage; but they may be as fairly and impartially tried by a jury of the bystanders" [pp. 88-89].

It is interesting also to note, with regard to testimony, that among the persons who were declared incapable of being witnesses were the transported "felons convict."

Toward the middle of the eighteenth century it was realized that convicts, as well as negroes and Indians, were "commonly of such base and corrupt principles that their testimony cannot be depended upon." The revised code of 1748 therefore provided that transported convicts might not testify in any case, except against other convicts, until the term for which they had been transported had expired. Since this prevented convict servant women from accusing the fathers of their bastard children, the law of 1769 made the masters of such women responsible for the support of such children, in return for their services until grown [pp. 94-95].

Dr. Scott raises a question as to whether an apparent increase in burglary in the eighteenth century had any relation to the system of transporting convicts, but his final conclusion is that a careful comparison of the records of the eighteenth century with those of the seventeenth leaves the impression that while burglary was undoubtedly increasing, it is not clear that this increase was out of proportion to the population increase.

Dr. Scott's study is of interest to all social workers who are concerned about our criminal law and methods of administration in criminal cases.

E. A.

Unemployment Insurance in Great Britain. The National System and Additional Benefit Plans. By MARY B. GILSON. New York: Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc., 1931. Pp. xiii+560. \$5.00.

This second volume in the Industrial Relations Counselors' series on unemployment compensation gives briefly the main provisions of the British acts, their relationship to private insurance schemes of industry and trade unions, to other forms of social insurance, and to poor relief; and the rôle of the employment exchanges. Three-quarters of the book is devoted to analysis of unemployment and of charges against the unemployment insurance system and of proposed remedies. The author shows that no scheme of privately supported insurance could meet the volume of post-war unemployment. She points out the uneven nature of unemployment in Great Britain both geographically and industrially. She reminds us that the unemployed are composed of wholly unemployed persons, many who are out of work for a brief period of time, seasonal and casual workers, and many working part-time. The distribution among juveniles, men and women of full working capacity, and aged is indicated. The study records English discussion of the relationship between unemployment insurance and wage rates and its effect upon mobility of labor and upon demoralization and malingering. It notes suggestions for preventing or reducing unemployment and for modification of the present acts. Appendixes contain outlines of employers' benefit plans, a summary of the acts, and other material useful for understanding the English situation. The study is important and timely.

MOLLIE RAY CARROLL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Wages: A Means of Testing Their Adequacy. By MORRIS E. LEEDS and C. CANBY BALDERSTON. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931. Pp. xi+79. \$1.50.

The novel feature of this little volume is an attempt to find a method by which wages should vary with the length of service so as to increase when the worker's needs increase. The data used were secured from the company of which Mr. Leeds is president and consisted of facts as to age, length of service, family status for 298 employees in 1928, and of age at marriage and age at birth of each child for 115 married men who had been with the company for three years.

The summary of their findings is stated as follows: "A summary of these figures discloses that 53 per cent of the male employees of three years' service are

married, that marriage occurs when the man is 26.5 years of age, that his first-born arrives when he is 28; his second child when he is about 31; and his third child three years later."

Study of the figures, however, shows that the age at marriage varies from 19 years to 50 or over and that for the middle half of the group it varies from 23 to 30 years. The interval between marriage and birth of the first child was more closely concentrated, but that for the birth of succeeding children showed slight tendency to concentrate. Furthermore, the figures in these cases were so small that little significance can attach to the results. On the whole, study of the figures raises a serious doubt of the value of any single figure as "typical" for the age at marriage or birth of the child and makes it seem of small moment whether the figure chosen to represent the group was arithmetic mean, median, or geometric mean.

The value of the study lies not in its conclusions but in its suggestions of a line of inquiry. It is possible roughly to adjust wages to demands on them by adjusting them with length of service? If so, what is the best adjustment that can be worked out?

HELEN R. WRIGHT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Rural and Urban Living Standards in Virginia ("Publication of the University of Virginia Institute for Research in the Social Sciences"). By WILSON GEE and WILLIAM H. STAUFFER. New York: Century Co., 1929. Pp. 132+vii. \$2.00.

This is a study of the expenditures and certain other aspects of the mode of life of 137 farm families and 140 urban families. The distinctiveness of the approach, we are told, lies in the fact that both groups are included in a single research project, and that the sample was selected on the basis of "fairly well defined groups" rather than by areas. Thus, the farm families consist of 40 "poor" with an average expenditure of \$892.03, of 85 "intermediate" with an average expenditure of \$1,722.56, of 12 "prosperous" families with average expenditure of \$4,084.30.

In the method of analysis and the conclusions that are drawn there is little either novel or remarkable. Expenditures are classified in familiar categories, and the average for each class—poor, intermediate, and prosperous—is reported with meticulous precision to the last penny. But of how the information was obtained which makes possible this precision we are told little or nothing. Presumably, from acknowledgments in the Preface, it was secured by personal interviews, but the care that was taken to make it accurate, the qualifications of those who secured the information, the questions that were asked are not discussed. This is a serious omission in any study and particularly in one issued under the auspices of an institute for research in the social sciences.

H. R. W.

Industrial Relations in the Building Industry. (Wertheim Fellowship Publication Number III.) By WILLIAM HABER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930. Pp. xviii+593. \$5.00.

This thorough and competent study is to be recommended for contributing to understanding of the "balance wheel of American industry," where instability creates disturbance throughout our entire economic life. The author begins with the importance of construction, its high costs and its seasonal fluctuations. He discusses at length such elements in the building industry which make for instability as the extremely competitive nature of the business, the small contractor with little capital who is a constant threat to the stabilized employer, the owner of the building who too frequently insists only upon a completed structure at a given time regardless of standards or consequences, and the individualism which prevents employers from forming continuous organizations to cope with the peculiar problems of the industry.

Problems of industrial relations in the building industry are analyzed with care and impartiality. The author points out the difference between labor problems in construction and in a factory, where control of the product, stability, and employer-worker relationships are simpler. He describes the changing techniques in building and the resulting problems of labor adjustment, vexing jurisdictional rules, and paralyzing jurisdictional disputes. He gives the history of the industry in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco as indicative of differing union and employer tactics and of control by the union, by employers' associations in the building industry, and by outside groups. He shows the trends toward industrial co-operation as indicated by the Building Congress movement and the American Construction Council.

Toward solution of these problems (the author suggests stabilization of industrial relations, but states that there is no generally recognized standard to guide thinking on the subject. For reduction or elimination of jurisdictional disputes he recommends permanent national adjudication machinery. Concerning union working rules, he suggests that stabilization achieved through costly rules which impede technical and managerial progress of the industry is as undesirable as that secured through low wages and exploitation of labor. Restrictive rules cannot be eliminated without removal of the causes which have brought them into existence. They must be met by stabilization of wages, employment, and working conditions. Further instability can be eliminated by reducing competition among small contractors and teaching them efficient managerial and cost-accounting methods. There is need for improvement in the character of collective bargaining in the industry. This can result only through co-operation on the part of the builders and sacrifice of some of their individualism as well as reform of the obstructive attitude of many of the unions. Both sides will then be in position to assist in reducing the hazards of the industry. The author states, however, that

no agreement will insure continuity of production in the future which fails to provide a continuing joint agency which will concern itself not so much with adjustment of

grievances as with the constructive considerations of the underlying economic and technical facts by which all questions of wages, working conditions, and earnings must in the end be determined.

M. R. C.

Jobs for Girls. By HAZEL RAWSON CADES. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1930. Pp. 208. \$2.00.

One is reminded, in reading Miss Cades' book, of Emerson's encomium on health: "I will say, get health. No labor, pains, temperance, poverty, no exercise, that can get it, must be grudged." There is no specific job for which Miss Cades does not include health as a prerequisite: health, and usually high school if not college education, and sometimes style, and sometimes manner!

After all, the mass of our girls, who do not marry, pass from school into dull, repetitive jobs, where they need health, surely, and need higher education to make the monotony endurable by intelligent leisure, where the style they manage to capture is a marvel to those who know their income, and manner doesn't matter so much as a strong back, good eyes, or deft fingers.

So, at the very outset, Miss Cades' book is for the comparatively few who can choose, and seek for interest in the job itself, without being doomed to disappointment. We wonder how much Miss Cades' book can really help them! We are inclined to think it would raise expectations which could be realized by only a very few, and that the sort of "hear-say" testimony, though very interesting reading and breezily written, is not an accurate scientific picture of vocational opportunity. Although many of us might think it most entertaining to sit in a big bank and hand out advice on investments, few of us will be chosen to fit into that niche! The novice would be wiser to read the study made recently by the Business and Professional Women's Clubs, entitled *Earnings of Women in Business and Professions*, by Margaret Elliott and G. E. Manson, or, for example, such studies as are made by some of the vocational guidance departments of our public-school systems, notably the very excellent ones written by Miss Mary Corre in Cincinnati.

We do not wish to be unfair to Miss Cades' book. She undoubtedly meant it to be just what it is: an interesting survey of interesting jobs, mostly in the largest Eastern cities (the wages and salaries quoted are obviously those of New York and only slightly smaller centers), and pictured as the women who are doing them tell about them.

AMY G. MAHER

INFORMATION BUREAU ON WOMEN'S WORK
TOLEDO, OHIO

The Jew and His Neighbour: A Study of the Causes of Anti-Semitism.
By JAMES W. PARKES. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1931. Pp. 202. \$2.00.

This study—initiated by the International Student Service, which hopes to follow it with similar studies on other subjects—began with the Jew as a

student but was compelled to end with the student as a Jew. The blame for his problematic character is placed upon history rather than upon him; for "the average Jew under auspicious circumstances is very much like the rest of us." But it is clearly seen that not all Jews are "average" nor many circumstances "auspicious." And so "with the best will in the world progress is going to be slow." Indeed, if "human nature became tomorrow all that the idealists desire, there would still remain in the Jewish question cultural, political, and economic difficulties which would tax the best intelligences to resolve."

The Jewish problem under Christianity, where it has been most acute, dates back to the eleventh century, when the Crusaders decided to do at home what power failed them to do adequately abroad, i.e., treat the infidel as became his iniquity. Avarice played no little rôle under religious cover and motivation. The Jew was reduced to penury wherever possible and was then despised for his rags. (Pius V, 1566, deprived Jews of any occupation bringing them into contact with Christians, except the buying and selling of old clothes.) Though arising primarily out of a religious complex, the prejudice does not disappear with the appearance of religious tolerance. There are economic, political, and racial factors. Of course, there is no "instinctive" dislike of the Jew; but still the hostile attitude runs so deep that it takes on the axiomatic character of the man who disliked carrots; he wouldn't taste them for he might learn to like them, and he "hated the damn things." Our author concludes that there are perhaps no "unalterable" Jewish traits, though the Jew is entitled to retain rather than alter his traits if he prefers. What little there is that can be done about anti-Semitism, apart from learning its history, is to recognize that it has a natural genesis (neither "instinctive" nor "divine"), that it can be attacked by education, and that as it is not the Jew who draws attention to the worst side of the non-Jew, so the non-Jew should not base his attitude on the worst side of the Jew. Meantime, Zionism raises for the Jew more problems than it solves.

T. V. SMITH

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A Guide to Statistics of Social Welfare in New York City. (Research Bureau Study 3.) By FLORENCE DUBOIS. New York: Welfare Council, 1930. Pp. xix+313. \$2.00.

Dr. Neva Deardorff and her corps of able assistants have again demonstrated the value, to a council of social agencies and to a community, of a research bureau that is well financed and competently directed.

This latest achievement of the research bureau represents the first effort of its kind in this country, though in England an official guide to statistical material is published annually. Unlike the guide in Britain, the New York publication is not limited to governmental statistics but includes many references to data that have been compiled by voluntary agencies.

The statistical field has not escaped the influence of the machine age. Inven-

tions and mechanical improvements have enabled statisticians to increase their output enormously and to relate data in new and interesting combinations. It is important that this growing flood of information should reach the consumer. The guide will doubtless rescue many a table from oblivion. At least it seems safe to predict that hundreds of scholars, social workers, journalists, and other consumers of factual material will, in thumbing its pages, discover many unsuspected sources of information, and will be correspondingly grateful for the patient labor that produced it.

The guide is simpler to understand and to use than the official British guide. Subjects are alphabetically arranged, and convenient summaries under each head indicate clearly the specific content of the material available in that field. A single number at the left of each item refers to the publication in which the desired data may be found, and the library that possesses the publication. The policy with respect to cross-references has been generous.

Among the three purposes that lead to publication of the guide was the desire "to promote the use of such authentic material as now exists." The simplicity and the convenience of the volume promise well for the attainment of this objective. Those who are seriously seeking information with respect to social welfare in New York can now have little excuse for failing to find it, provided it is actually in existence.

A. W. M.

BRIEF NOTICES

The Quest for Social Justice, 1898-1914 ("A History of American Life," Vol. XI).

By HAROLD UNDERWOOD FAULKNER. New York: Macmillan Co., 1931.

Pp. xvii+390. \$4.00.

This intelligent and useful sketch of the decade and a half preceding the World War appears as Volume XI in the new "History of American Life," edited by Professors Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon R. Fox. There is little in this volume of immediate interest to the social worker, but much that is valuable as the background of social work activities. In a single compact volume covering so large a field—ranging from labor, the new democracy, women, and "children's rights" to religion and reform, science and health, sources of culture and the people at play, and even to the new frontier—no subject can be exhaustively treated. It is indeed a carping critic who selects any points that seem to be overlooked. However, it is inevitable that social workers in Chicago should take note of the fact that the names of Jane Addams or of Hull-House do not appear in the discussions of any one of the subjects indicated. Nor does the autobiography of Jane Addams, which covers this period in a way that no student of the social reform movement can overlook, nor do any of her other books, appear in the "critical essay on authorities" (pp. 331-69).

Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850. By IVY PINCHBECK, M.A. (Lond.), Lecturer in Economic History at Bedford College (University of London). New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1930. Pp. x+342. \$5.00.

This work is important for those interested in women's work and also for those interested in the history of the social reform movement. Miss Pinchbeck presents an interesting account of the conflicting criticisms of the factory system, and apparently thinks that the report of Sadler's Committee in 1831 was an unnecessary picture of unrelieved gloom. She thinks that many of the witnesses dwelt on the worst conditions only. The other famous blue books of the first half of the nineteenth century are reviewed, frequently from a new point of view. The agrarian revolution as well as the industrial revolution is dealt with, and there is a final chapter on craftswomen and women in the professions. This is an important and scholarly book which breaks new ground in many places.

Before the Bluestockings. By ADA WALLAS (MRS. GRAHAM WALLAS). London: Allen & Unwin, 1929. Pp. 224. 8s. 6d.

The position of women in the seventeenth and the early eighteenth century "before the bluestockings" lives again in the pages of this very interesting book. It is a period with which people are not familiar, and Mrs. Graham Wallas has placed her readers greatly in her debt for her scholarly review of the lives of five of the notable women of this period and a final essay on Sir Richard Steele, whose rare gifts were generously at the service of the women of his day, the injustice of whose position strongly moved his sense of fair play. Mrs. Wallas points out that "the reasoned service of women" was one of Steele's generous methods of serving the public good, and she thinks he made a real impression on the accepted fashion of treating the legal and educational position of women "with contemptuous badinage."

Mary Astell, who was willing to start what should have been the first college for women in England or, for that matter, anywhere else, who published, in 1694, *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies for the Advancement of Their True and Great Interest*, was, Mrs. Wallas thinks, the author of "the first considered attempt to interest Englishwomen in the higher education of their sex." It is interesting to speculate as to what might have happened had Queen Anne gone forward with her original idea of giving 10,000 pounds to Mary Astell's seminary, which unfortunately never got beyond her own plans and hopes. Would the whole trend of women's education have been put forward by 150 years?

Social workers will also be interested in this book because of the descriptions of the lives of children—their education or lack of it, and the cruel punishments inflicted even on the children of the so-called "upper classes" by ignorant nursemaids and almost illiterate teachers.

Save the Mothers. A Plea for Measures to Prevent the Annual Loss of about 3,000 Child-bearing Mothers and 20,000 Infant Lives in England and Wales and a Similar Grievous Wastage in Other Countries. By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST. London: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930. Pp. xiii+216. 6s.

The author of this book is a daughter of the late Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, the distinguished leader of the suffragists who believed in "action." Miss Pankhurst here

appears as an advocate of a national maternity service. There is little in the way of new facts about the high maternal mortality rate that is new. The author is concerned rather with rousing the public conscience "to the necessity of an entirely free and efficient maternity service open to all." It is pointed out that "the first and most essential service Society can render to its children is to insure that they shall be rightly born, and protected by every known safeguard from birth injuries and infections. The upkeep and lighting of the public roads, the protection of property, and all the other innumerable public services are of lesser importance than this first need."

Miss Pankhurst compares the pay services for maternity care with the days of pay schooling. She is sure that "the need for an all-embracing free service is steadily making itself felt" and suggests that any who think that the nation would have difficulty in financing an adequate Maternity Service, should remember "that the pioneers of universal free education met and vanquished the same financial objection, at a time when the general view of the mutual obligations of the community and its members was infinitely narrower than today."

In place of the present maternity benefit system of Great Britain, which is paid under the national health insurance law to insured women and wives of insured men, Miss Pankhurst advocates a Cash Maternity Bounty of £10, payable either on the notification of the birth to the Health Department or, if the mother desire it, in three previous instalments:

- "(a) £3 to enable the expectant mother to provide herself with clothing or other comforts required by her condition, payable on the notification of her pregnancy;
- "(b) £3 at seven months' pregnancy, to provide clothing, etc., for the infant;
- "(c) £4 payable in the ninth month for the provision of nourishments, and comforts for the confinement. . . ."

It is said that the mothers have hitherto "asked far too little from the community, in view of their great services and their great needs. The mother and wage-earner has "patiently shouldered a double burden, and has been expected to bear it unaided."

A national maternity indemnity should guarantee to her:

- "(a) Weekly payments equivalent to her wage when employed, for five months before the birth of a child, or at an earlier stage on presenting a doctor's certificate that she is unfit to work on account of pregnancy.
- "(b) Similar payments for twelve months after the birth of the child, if the mother remain away from work during that period.
- "(c) Similar payments in case of an abortion or still birth until the patient is restored to health.

"No contract to be broken, or dismissal to be permitted, on account of failure to work during pregnancy, or for one year after the birth of a child.

"No woman to be employed as a wage-worker within six weeks before or six weeks after the birth of a child. This proviso would be worse than useless, and indeed cruelly injurious, unless the mother were indemnified by payments equal to her earnings."

Various other schemes for an improved maternity service are discussed.

